

Gc
976.3
L937p
v.1
1762672

M. L.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02289 7547



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
findmypast.com

https://archive.org/details/publications01loui_0

563

PUBLICATIONS

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

New Orleans, La.

VOL. I

AMS PRESS
NEW YORK

563

1762672

Reprinted from the editions of 1895-1896, New Orleans
First AMS EDITION published 1969
Manufactured in the United States of America

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 69-20142

AMS PRESS, INC.
New York, N. Y. 10003

PUBLICATIONS

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. I.

INDEX.

VOLUME I.

PART I.

	PAGE.
Report of Prof. Alcée Fortier as Chairman of Committee on Work and Archives.....	3
Address of President Fortier at annual meeting	9
Report of John R. Ficklen, Secretary of the Society.....	12
Oration of Dr. B. M. Palmer at annual meeting	15
List of officers and members	33

PART II.

Resolutions on the death of Charles Gayarré, by Alcée Fortier.....	3
Old Colonial Papers, by Alcée Fortier.....	6
A Relic of the Confederacy, by Thomas J. Semmes.....	25
The West Florida Revolution, Part I, by Henry L. Favrot	37
A Letter from General Andrew Jackson, edited by William H. Sey- mour	48
An Old Manuscript Reviewed, by Grace King.....	46

PART III.

List of members	3
Minutes of the Secretary, John R. Ficklen	5
Sketch of Pierre Margry, by Gustave Devron.....	10
The West Florida Revolution, Part II, by Henry L. Favrot	17
The Capture of Fort Charlotte, by William Beer.....	31
The Defences of New Orleans in 1797, translated by J. W. Cruzat....	35
A Letter of General Andrew Jackson, edited by William H. Sey- mour	40
Publications received	41

PART IV.

Minutes of the Secretary.....	3
Report on the Mounds of Louisiana, with illustrations, by George E. Beyer	12
Fac-simile of Le Moniteur de La Louisiane, 1794	33
List of officers and members	37

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

1895.

NEW ORLEANS:

L. Graham & Son, Ltd, 207, 209 and 211 Baronne Street,
1895.

PUBLICATIONS

2000

CHINA JOURNAL OF ANATOMY

1999-2000

2000

CHINA JOURNAL OF ANATOMY
1999-2000

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1.

Louisiana historical society, *New Orleans*.

Publications ... v. 1-7; 1895-1914.

New Orleans, Louisiana historical society, 1895-19 15.

7v. illus., plates, ports., maps, facsim., fold. tab. 22-23^{cm}.

Vol. 1, pt. 2 and v. 3, pt. 2 wanting.

Vols. 1-3 each published in 4 parts, each part with separate t.p. and pagination.

1. Louisiana—Hist.—Societies. 2. New Orleans—Hist.—Societies.

9-895

Library of Congress



F366.L85

2d set.

37h1-

SEATTLE, WASH.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The Louisiana Historical Society, now domiciled in New Orleans, La., presents to its members and friends the subjoined report of its annual meeting, held in Tulane Hall, January 16, 1895. As a fitting preface to the interesting proceedings on this occasion the society has printed the valuable report made in 1893 by Prof. Alcée Fortier, as chairman of the Committee on Work and Archives. A list is also given of the officers and the members of the society.

REPORT OF PROF. FORTIER.

Prof. Alcée Fortier, chairman of the Committee on Work and Archives, made the following interesting report:

It gives us pleasure to state that we found that the Louisiana Historical Society possesses very valuable books and documents pertaining to the history of the colony under the French and Spanish dominations and we desire to express our high appreciation of the work done by our distinguished historian, Charles Gayarré, in making the collection now in the possession of our society and at the State library. His intelligent labors in collecting valuable documents and books in France and in Spain; his energy, his patriotism in writing and rewriting in three different works the history of Louisiana entitle Mr. Gayarré to the gratitude of all Louisianians and will associate his name forever with all investigations and studies in the history of the colony and of the State. We must now endeavor to continue the work so ably done thus far by Mr. Gayarré, we must try to obtain complete copies of all papers concerning Louisiana in the archives of France and Spain, and we must, first of all, make an accurate catalogue of the books and documents in our possession and at the State library.

We examined carefully the books and documents belonging to our society, of which the following is the list:

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Louisiana Historical Society was organized in 1893 for the purpose of collecting, preserving, and publishing the historical records of the State. It was organized by the Louisiana Historical Association, which was organized in 1891. The Louisiana Historical Association was organized by the Louisiana Historical Association, which was organized in 1891. The Louisiana Historical Association was organized by the Louisiana Historical Association, which was organized in 1891.

MEMBERSHIP LIST

1. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
2. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
3. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
4. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
5. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
6. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
7. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
8. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
9. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
10. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
11. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
12. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
13. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
14. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
15. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
16. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
17. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
18. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
19. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
20. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
21. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
22. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
23. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
24. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
25. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
26. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
27. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
28. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
29. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
30. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
31. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
32. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
33. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
34. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
35. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
36. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
37. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
38. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
39. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
40. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
41. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
42. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
43. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
44. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
45. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
46. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
47. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
48. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
49. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
50. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
51. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
52. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
53. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
54. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
55. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
56. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
57. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
58. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
59. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
60. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
61. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
62. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
63. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
64. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
65. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
66. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
67. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
68. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
69. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
70. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
71. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
72. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
73. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
74. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
75. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
76. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
77. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
78. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
79. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
80. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
81. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
82. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
83. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
84. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
85. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
86. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
87. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
88. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
89. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
90. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
91. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
92. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
93. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
94. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
95. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
96. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
97. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
98. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
99. Mr. J. M. Smith, President
100. Mr. J. M. Smith, President

1. French MSS., Mississippi Valley, 1679-1769.
2. La Harpe MS., Journal Mississippi Valley, 1698-1724.
3. Spanish MSS., Mississippi Valley, 1765-1804.
4. Spanish MSS., Mississippi Valley, 1789-1802.
5. Spanish MSS., Mississippi Valley, 1788-1807.
6. Spanish MSS., Mississippi Valley, 1793-1808.
7. MS., Catalogue Mississippi Valley.
8. Documents sur la Louisiane (Margry), 3 vols., MSS.
9. Official French Orders, Laws, etc., Mississippi Valley, 1690-1719.
10. Official French Orders, Laws, etc., Mississippi Valley, 1720-1729.
11. Notes et Documents sur l'Histoire de la Louisiane.
12. Le Pere Leclercq. Etablissement de la Foy dans la Nouvelle-France (MS. from printed book).
13. Hennepin—New Discovery of a Vast Country.
14. Hennepin—Nouvelle Decouverte d'un très grand pays (2 Relation Louisiane).
15. Hennepin—Nouveau Voyage (3 Relation Louisiane).
16. Joutel—Journal Historique de la Salle.
17. Recueil de relations, lettres et mémoires relatifs à la Louisiane, 1673-1750.
18. One package of miscellaneous papers and documents. Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6—An index should be made.
- No. 18—All papers and documents should be carefully classified. The package contains interesting relics, such as French assignats at the time of the Revolution, copies of old newspapers and important documents in Spanish relating to the revolution of 1768 and the acts of O'Reilly.

There are at Tulane University a number of wooden boxes containing documents of the time of the French and Spanish dominations. We examined two of these boxes, 1778 and 1786, and found them to contain original notarial and judicial acts. The contents of all the boxes should be classified, as we consider the papers to be valuable for the history of our families, and also of colonial times. Interesting monographs may be written about the customs of old times, as seen in the marriage contracts and testaments of the men of the eighteenth century.

With regard to documents and books pertaining to the history of the colony, and accessible to us, we beg, therefore, to say, that they are exceedingly important, but that it will require arduous labor to classify them in analytical and critical manner. We also suggest that further research be made in European archives for documents pertaining to the history of Louisiana, and that the society invoke the aid of the State government to enable such research to be made, and to complete the admirable and valuable collection made many years ago by the Hon. Charles Gayarré.

The above suggestions refer to our archives, and the work to be done in that connection. We now beg to call your attention to the following topics for original investigation:

First—The Indian Tribes.—In the history of all American colonies the Indians play an important part. The first occupants of the country were sometimes friendly to the settlers, but oftener hostile, and many deeds of war and violence are related in the annals of the colonies. In Louisiana we had the two great hostile tribes, the Chickasaws and the Natchez, and the friendly Choctaws. Many romantic episodes are connected with the wars against the Indians, and the narrative of the destruction of the bold Chickasaws and of the Natchez, made poetic and immortal by the genius of Chateaubriand, would still be interesting, as well as a description of their peculiar customs. What is, however, more important still would be to make a study of the traditions of the tribes now existing. We have the Choctaws, who sell their wicker baskets and herbs at the French market; we have the Attakapas, in St. Mary parish, and remnants of other tribes, such as the Biloxis, in different parts of the State. We should study the traditions and customs of these people, appreciate the importance of folk-lore as an aid to history, anthropology and ethnology, and become folk-lorists for everything concerning the nearly extinct Indian tribes. Let us also try to find out which are the tribes left and what is known of their history.

Second—Histories of the Parishes.—Just as the history of every individual State must be studied to obtain a correct idea of the general history of the United States, we should have

histories relating in detail the important events that took place in every parish. For this purpose, the parish archives and church registers should be carefully examined. It would be highly interesting to ascertain who were the first inhabitants, the pioneers in every parish, and to know to what race they belonged. Many peculiarities in speech and customs might be explained if we knew exactly from what part of Europe, from what province, from what part of the United States or Canada came the early settlers in the different parishes. The church registers are probably the best means of ascertaining the dates of the arrival in the colony or State of the different classes of immigrants and their nationality. In connection with church registers, we wish to call attention to the historical interest attached to the study of epitaphs and tombstone inscriptions. The latter are real registers, and as important as the musty and moth-eaten papers kept in our church archives.

The church registers are of such value to the student of history that the utmost care should be given to their preservation, and when they are in a dilapidated condition copies should be made of them. At the cathedral in New Orleans are a number of most valuable records in a bad state of preservation. Our historical society should communicate with the ecclesiastical authorities on that subject, and take some steps to have those important documents copied.

The history of New Orleans has often been written, but never fully. There is still a wide field of work in that line of research, as well as in the history of our oldest towns. Natchitoches, Alexandria, Monroe, Baton Rouge, Thibodaux, would be interesting subjects for detailed histories.

Third—Distinguished Foreigners.—We had here at different periods personages important in romance and history, and we should like to know what they did, what they said, where they lived while in Louisiana. For instance, the Chevalier des Grieux, whose misfortunes the Abbé Prévost has related with such charm in that most touching book "*Manon Lescaut*," is said to have lived in Pointe Coupée parish and to have married after poor Manon's death. If this fact is true

it would be curious to know whether Des Grieux ever forgot Manon.

We take also quite an interest in the life in Louisiana of General Moreau, of that great captain but weak man, who conquered for France at Hohenlinden and was killed by a French cannon ball at Dresden by the side of Alexander, of Russia. What did Moreau say of Bonaparte? Who were his friends in New Orleans? What about Louis-Philippe? What was the life in exile of the future king of the French?

Fourth—The Laws of Louisiana,—Our State having been a colony of France and then of Spain before forming a part of the American Union, our laws bear traces of the three dominations. Although our system of jurisprudence is based on the Code Napoleon and the *corpus juris civilis* of Justinian, we certainly borrowed from the Spanish laws and from the English common law. It is important to study the influence on our laws of the different European systems of jurisprudence and to see whether some of the provincial customs of France before the adoption of the Code Napoleon are not yet to be found in our laws. We might also make a study of the Black Code and of all laws referring to the slaves.

Fifth—Biography.—No study is more interesting than that of the lives of distinguished people. By devoting special works to the men who have contributed to the foundation of Louisiana, or added to her glory, we do a patriotic and useful work. We pay them a just tribute of homage and, at the same time, add important pages to the history of the State. The lives of our colonial governors, of our State governors, of our great writers and jurists, in short of all our celebrated men and women, should be written. Miss King, in her "Life of Bienville," and Judge Howe, in his "Life of Justice Martin," have given us admirable examples that we may follow with credit to ourselves and profit to all.

Sixth—Agriculture.—Another important topic for study is the history of agriculture in the State. Let us see what was the condition of agriculture in the colony; what were the implements, the fertilizers used when indigo and corn were the chief staples. Let us study the development of the sugar

industry, from Etienne de Boré to our times; let us describe an old sugar house, with the mill operated by horse power; let us see the improvements made by Valcour Aime and others, and let us compare the old methods of manufacturing sugar and cultivating the field with the ones now in use. The same work can be done for cotton, rice, and tobacco. A description of the preparation of the Perique carrots and of the Natchitoches tobacco would be curious and interesting.

Seventh—Local Customs and Dialects.—History is no longer considered to be the narrative, more or less animated or fanciful, of battles and great incidents in the lives of men. Every fact advanced must be based on documents, and we desire to know something about the inner life of the people, about their customs and manners. Let us, therefore, call folk-lore once more to our aid, for, as it has been so well said: "Folk-lore is to history what color is to design." Let us study the customs of our people of different nationalities; let us recall the customs of old days, of the times of slavery; let us study at the same time the dialects of the Acadians, of the Isleños, of the negroes, and we shall gather in that way a great mass of information concerning their peculiar and interesting customs. The field of work is here immense.

Eighth—Literature and Education.—The literature of Louisiana, both in French and in English, is most interesting and important, and we must study it to understand better the characteristics and genius of our people. The history of literature is intimately connected with history proper, and both should be studied together. We may also devote our time with profit to the study of the development of education from the colonial period to our days. We should certainly, in this way, help the cause of education in the State.

Ninth—History of Louisiana from 1815 to our Times.—From the battle of New Orleans to our days we have no complete history. We should study the different periods, from 1815 to 1861, from 1861 to 1865; reconstruction, liberation and contemporary events.

Tenth—Maps.—We should endeavor to make a catalogue

and collection of maps of Louisiana from the earliest times. History can not be studied without the aid of geography.

In concluding this report, we ask for your indulgence, for our work was arduous and we had little time at our disposal. We hope to present a more complete report at some future meeting of our society, and trust that in the meantime our suggestions will open the way to a serious and complete study of all points connected with the history of Louisiana.

The report was adopted as the sense of the meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

President Fortier spoke as follows: *Ladies and Gentlemen:* At their meeting in November, 1894, the members of the Louisiana Historical Society decided to hold a public meeting in January, 1895. Their purpose was to call the attention of all Louisianians to the importance of the Historical Society, so as to arouse an interest in its work. No State has a more romantic or more interesting history than ours; no State has had abler and more patriotic sons, whether by birth or by adoption, and from the days of Iberville and Bienville to our own time, events, sometimes fortunate, sometimes unfortunate, but often heroic and grand, have happened on our soil. What history is more soul-stirring than that of our early colonists? What an interest we take in their privations, in their defeats, in their triumphs under French rule! How we glory in the admirable resistance of our ancestors of 1768 to the Spanish domination imposed by force, and how we mourn over the sad fate of the victims of O'Reilly! Then we follow with pride Galvez and his men to Baton Rouge and Pensacola, and we are pleased with the mild and paternal rule of the Spaniards after the time of O'Reilly. At the beginning of the century we see again for a moment the French domination, and at last in 1803 the Louisianians become Americans and acquire that freedom for which they had striven from the foundation of the colony. The history of Louisiana as a State of the Union continues to be most noteworthy, from the battle of New Orleans on Janu-

ary 8, 1815, to the 14th of September, 1874, and to our own days. Therefore, if there is a State that should have an historical society, it is ours, and our people should take such an interest in our history that they should endeavor to leave untold no events in which Louisiana has been concerned.

We have in the custody of our society most valuable documents relating to the history of Louisiana. It was on these documents that Mr. Gayarré based his history, written in French and published in 1846 and 1847, a history of which Parkman, in a letter to Miss Grace King, dated May 10, 1890, said: "Of course you are familiar with Mr. Gayarré's '*Histoire de la Louisiane*.' It is very valuable, as containing a great number of French documents, printed verbatim, and therefore is more useful to the student than any of the English histories of Louisiana." Of Mr. Gayarré's history, written in English and based also in part on documents in the custody of our society, Bancroft wrote in 1853 to the author: "I look forward with greatest interest to your volume on Louisiana under the Spaniards. You are my guide, and you will see how I respect your authority. You not only construct an interesting and attractive narrative, but actually so far exhaust the subject that little is left to be gleaned after you."

These letters of Parkman and Bancroft do the greatest honor to our distinguished and venerated historian, and they prove without the shadow of a doubt the value of the documents contained in the library of our society. We should be enabled to publish parts of these documents, and both the State and the individual citizens of Louisiana should aid us in our efforts.

It is a strange fact, and one not to the credit of Louisiana, that from the foundation of the Historical Society in 1836 to the present year only one paper was published by the society. I refer to the very interesting address of Judge Henry A. Bullard, published in Vol. I of the "Historical Collections" of B. F. French. A number of valuable papers were read before the society, and yet only one, so far as I know, was ever officially published. We must correct this anomaly; we

must have a quarterly journal in which to publish our original documents and our transactions and proceedings. The Louisiana Historical Society had many vicissitudes in the past, but it is now, I sincerely hope, firmly established and will have a long career of usefulness. We rely on the help of every one of you, ladies and gentlemen; on the help of the Governor of the State, of the Legislature and of every Louisianian in order that we may accomplish the purpose for which our society was founded nearly sixty years ago.

The Louisiana Historical Society was established on January 15, 1836, and its first president was Judge Henry A. Bullard. The secretaries, according to J. D. B. DeBow, were Mr. Harrison and Louis Janin, and among the officers were Porter, Martin, Roman, Canonge and Barton. Among the members were Gray, Clapp, Eustis, McCaleb, Ingalls, Winthrop, Rost, Watts, Deblieux and Leonard.

The society, organized in 1836, soon fell into decay, and was reorganized in June, 1846, by the following gentlemen: John Perkins, J. D. B. DeBow, Edmund J. Forstall, Charles Gayarré, General Joseph Walker and Alfred Hennen. The celebrated jurist and historian, François Xavier Martin, was elected president, but he died in December, 1846. In 1847 the society was incorporated, and Judge Henry A. Bullard was elected president for the second time, and John Perkins and J. D. B. DeBow secretaries. The list of members published in 1850 comprises the names of many distinguished Louisianians, and the society seems to have been prosperous for several years. By an act of the Legislature, approved January 10, 1860, the society became in reality a State institution, as Mr. Gayarré correctly observed, inasmuch as it was decreed that "in the event of a dissolution of the Historical Society, all books, maps, records, manuscripts and collections shall revert to the State for the use of the State library." The State, therefore, should support the Historical Society as being a State institution. I desire to lay stress on this point, for it is a shame for Louisiana that we should not even have a room of our own to hold our meetings, while in several other States the historical societies have splendid buildings

and receive annually thousands of dollars from their respective States. Louisiana may not be wealthy, but she is rich enough to spend a little money to perpetuate her glory and the great deeds of her children.

Mr. Gayarré was elected president in 1860, but the time was most inauspicious, and the society slumbered from 1860 to April 30, 1877, when a new charter was obtained from the Legislature, transferring the domicile of the society from Baton Rouge to New Orleans. Several interesting meetings were held, and in 1888 Judge Gayarré resigned the office of president, which he had held for twenty-eight years. Judge W. W. Howe was elected to the presidency in 1888 and held that office until February, 1894, when the present officers were chosen. In October, 1893, the society was again revived, and is now in a state of hopeful vigor.

Such is, ladies and gentlemen, the history, briefly told, of the Louisiana Historical Society. You see how our predecessors struggled earnestly and patriotically. It is for the governor and the people of Louisiana to decide whether they wish to have, as so many other States in the Union, a flourishing historical society. As I have just said, I have no doubt of success. We have with us a gentleman who will speak to us in eloquent words of the tribunal of history. Let all Louisianians beware and dread that inexorable tribunal if they do not give their full and zealous support to the Louisiana Historical Society.

When Prof. Fortier had concluded Prof. Ficklen, the secretary, read a report as follows:

As secretary and treasurer of the Louisiana Historical Society I have been requested by the Executive Committee to make a report, and to make it brief, of what the society has accomplished during the year just past, and of its present status. I wish to include in this summary, however, the transactions of the society for the three months previous to January, 1894.

During a period of more than five long years the Louisiana Historical Society had been plunged in peaceful slumber,

when it occurred to two gentlemen about the same time that it might be an appropriate season to awaken the venerable association and try to infuse into it a new life.

Accordingly, in the month of October, 1893, some of the old members were gathered together, a number of ladies and gentlemen interested in the history of the State were invited to attend, and a meeting was held in Tulane Hall. Judge W. W. Howe, the former president, occupied the chair, with Mr. Lamar C. Quintero, the former secretary, at the desk.

As a considerable interest in the revival of the society was exhibited, President Howe appointed several committees to undertake the work of obtaining new members and of mapping out the line along which the society should proceed. Investigation disclosed the fact that the wealth of the society consisted of \$12.50, which the honorable secretary had jealously guarded through the long period of repose. As the society receives no aid from the State, it was decided to fix the annual dues at three dollars, and thus accumulate a fund for the preservation of the documents now in the possession of the society and for the publication of such as might be found valuable.

When the next meeting was held, in November, the reports showed that the committees had not neglected their tasks. Especial interest was shown in the valuable report made through its chairman, Prof. Alcée Fortier, by the Committee on Work and Archives. This report proved to be a source of inspiration to the members. It gave due praise to the splendid labors of the venerable historian of Louisiana, Judge Charles Gayarré, but showed that in the long, eventful history of the State there are still many rich fields to be explored. A topical outline was given of work that would worthily occupy the attention of the society for many years to come. Among the subjects suggested were: (1) the history of the Indians in Louisiana; (2) the history of the parishes; (3) the history of distinguished foreigners who have visited Louisiana; (4) the laws of Louisiana; (5) the biographies of famous Louisianians; (6) the development of agriculture;

(7) local customs and dialects; (8) literature and education; (9) old maps; (10) history of the State from 1815-1893.

At a subsequent meeting a committee of three was appointed to revise the constitution of the society and adapt it to the present needs and necessities. Under this revised constitution the annual election was held and the present officers were elected.

Whoever will run over the minutes of the secretaries since the revival of the society in October, 1893, will admit that much valuable work has been done. As a result of the zealous activity of the chairman of the membership committee, a number of new members have been enrolled, and the treasury has been enriched by their annual dues. The attendance has not been altogether satisfactory, but there has been some compensation in the interest and devotion of those who have come to the monthly meetings. The following is a list of the papers read:

A lecture on the Redemptioners in Louisiana, by Prof. J. Hanno Deiler; a paper on Iberville, by Miss Grace King; a paper on Francis Parkman, in memoriam of that gifted historian, by John R. Ficklen; a paper on "the right of courts to declare laws unconstitutional," by Judge W. W. Howe; a paper on the origin of the name Baton Rouge, by H. L. Favrot, Esq.; a paper on the revolution in West Florida, by the same writer; a paper on the dialects of America, by John Dimitry; a paper on Indian mounds, by Charles Patton Dimitry; a paper on the battle of New Orleans, by Lieutenant Tillson, of the United States Army; a paper on the Florida parishes of Louisiana, by Mrs. S. Rhett Roman; a paper on nomenclature of Louisiana, by Judge Seymour; a review of a recent Spanish work on early Florida, by Dr. Gustave Devron.

One of the most interesting features of the meetings has been the exhibition of original historical documents. Some of these were rare and valuable papers. If the society had accomplished nothing else it would justify its existence by the aids to the future historian which it has brought to light. Abundant evidence has been given at several of the meetings

that in our private libraries there are many curious and precious historical treasures. For an opportunity to examine a number of these the society is specially indebted to Dr. Devron, Judge Seymour, J. Cruzat, Esq., Felix Limongi, Esq., and H. L. Favrot, Esq.

Much pleasure, moreover, has been derived from the labors of the president, who, with the enthusiasm of the true antiquarian, has dived into the musty old boxes belonging to the society and brought forth a number of interesting facts concerning the early families and historical personages of the State.

I may add that the society has elected as honorary and corresponding members a number of distinguished gentlemen in this and other States, who have shown their warm appreciation of the honor conferred upon them. Every effort, also, has been made to bring the society into close touch with the other historical societies of the Union. In order to attain this object, however, we recognize the necessity of publishing our proceedings and the original documents which we possess, so that we may have something to give in exchange for the publications of these societies.

Encouraged by what we have accomplished in the past, we enter upon the new year with quickened anticipations of greater success in the future.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the executive committee believes that nothing could conduce to the success of the society more than the presence here this evening of the distinguished divine who will deliver the annual oration.

The oration of Dr. B. M. Palmer, the orator of the occasion, was as follows:

THE TRIBUNAL OF HISTORY.

The most elaborate oration of the great Pericles, as recorded by the historian Thucydides, was that pronounced over the soldiers who had fallen in the Peloponnesian war. The nice sense of Athenian honor did not allow the slain to be disgraced upon the field of battle. To this sentiment of na-

tional pride was added the deeper instinct of religion, which, amongst the Greeks, enforced the strict performance of funeral rites, without which the restless shades were doomed to wander upon the banks of the gloomy Styx, forbidden to pass to the Elysium beyond. Even amidst the carnage of battle the bodies of the slain must be rescued from the foe, and be borne with solemn pomp for interment in their native soil; whilst the memorial shaft blazoned their heroic deeds, in double testimony of a soldier's prowess and of a nation's gratitude. It was fitting, too, that the pageant of a public funeral should be illustrated by the highest eloquence; and the first orators of Greece, such as Demosthenes and Lysias, did not disdain the opportunity for the display of their loftiest genius.

It was after the disastrous campaign of the summer, 431 B. C., when all Attica had been ravaged by the Spartan legions, and her whole population was compressed within the walls of Athens, that Pericles, whose name is imperishably linked with Athenian empire, ascended the bema to speak the honors of the Athenian dead. It was, however, no empty panegyric, the filigree and frostwork of mere rhetoric, but statesmanlike and grand in the utterance of practical convictions. As described by Grote "it was comprehensive, rational and full not only of sense and substance, but of earnest patriotism—impersonal and business-like, since it is Athens herself who undertakes to commend and decorate her departed sons, as well as to hearten and admonish the living." In the most rapid and suggestive style Pericles "traces the effect of her democratic constitution, with its diffused and equal citizenship, in calling forth not only strong attachment, but painful self-sacrifice," as also "the liberty and diversity of individual life at Athens, as opposed to the monotonous drill of Sparta." Having thus presented "the many-sided social development" that prevailed in the city of Minerva, "bringing out the capacities both for action and endurance," the orator points the conclusion of his argument: "Such is the city on behalf of which these warriors have nobly died in battle, vindicating her just title to unimpaired rights; and on be-

half of which all of us here left behind must willingly toil—drawing the lesson that the conflict is not for equal motives between us and our enemies, who possess nothing of the like excellence.”

I have detained you, ladies and gentlemen, with this lengthened preamble for the purpose of justifying an inference which will be found to underlie all that I shall pronounce in your hearing—to-wit, that war is not always the mere outburst of human passion; but that when projected on a large scale and protracted through a long period, and especially when occurring between members of the same race, it is the result of an antecedent conflict of opinions, which, having sought arbitration in vain, appeal finally to the sword from the simple necessity of settling the question of supremacy. With the whole of Grecian history before us, for example, it is evident that the thirty years’ war between Athens and Sparta was but the culmination of the struggle between the Doric and Ionic elements of the Grecian stock, which emerged at the earliest dawn of authentic history. From the outset these two became the exponents of two opposing systems of government and social discipline. Lacedemon espoused a policy which may be defined as continental and oligarchic; whilst Athens represented the ideas of commerce and democracy. Sparta sought to consolidate the Continental States of Greece under the supremacy of the few; Athens, to weld the Maritime States into a Democratic confederacy, of which she should be the centre and soul. The antagonism was fundamental, and the two nations struggled together, like Jacob and Esau, even in the womb. So ancient was the feud that the armed invasion of Persia only composed it for a time—to break forth at last in the Peloponnesian war, so fatal in its issue to the independence of both. All this is, however, not a whit more clear to our critical philosophy than it was to the statesmanlike discernment of Pericles himself. We, who stand on the top of so many centuries and survey the whole landscape of the past, understand perfectly that the wildness of individual freedom, so fatal to the permanence of her power, was yet the only condition through which Athens

worked out her mission and became "the school-mistress of the world." The largest liberty of speculative thought and the utmost freedom of social life, under the stimulus of a popular Constitution that woke every individual into action, were perhaps the only conditions under which those exquisite models of poetry, eloquence and art could in the first instance be created, which succeeding ages have been content simply to reproduce. And beyond the glory of her sculpture and her song, which throw such a halo around the name of Athens, is the glory of presenting the first demonstration upon the page of history of equal citizenship in a free State. All this, however, is traced, as with a needle's precision, by this sagacious statesman, who, in this splendid specimen of forensic eloquence, has adroitly linked the sepulture of the heroic warrior with the exposition and defence of the principles for which he bled. The orator was right. With the instinct of genius, he struck the keynote of that solemn dirge which weeping Greece was chanting over the tomb of her slain. It was not the sentiment of natural affection alone, seeking to hallow the remains of brothers, husbands, and sons. It was not the impulse of haughty honor only, rescuing the brave from the iron hoofs of an insolent foe. It was the deep, though possibly unpronounced, conviction that the dead were martyrs to a cause for which their own blood might have as easily flowed. This made Greece weep as she drew her mantle over the slain and gave their names to lasting marble: and Pericles was eloquent simply because he interpreted the silent thought in a thousand souls, that death for a just principle was a sacrifice to the gods.

But Athens is not the only State which has mourned its dead and the principles for which they vainly fought. The wail of many such is borne on the winds of night, appealing to the judgment of posterity in the weird language of the Gaelic bard: "Our harp hangs upon a blasted branch. The sound of its strings is mournful; did the wind touch thee, O Harp, or was it some passing ghost? Another song shall rise." It shall chant "the chiefs of other times departed, who have gone without their fame. Our fathers shall hear it

in their airy hall. Their dim faces shall hang with joy from their clouds. Fingal shall receive his fame. The voice of Ossian has been heard. The harp has been strung in Selma."

I have drifted insensibly into the theme of my discourse to-night; which is to place before your eyes *the solemn tribunal of history*; before which all the generations of men shall bring their deeds to be adjudicated; and in whose final verdict the good and the true shall find a proximate vindication. It looms up through the perspective of coming centuries, when passions of the past are dead, when historic criticism shall have purged the record of prejudice and calumny, and when impartial truth shall plead before a panel beyond the reach of seduction or of fear. But is there such a tribunal this side of the great Assize, when the Ruler of the Universe shall pronounce the destinies of men? The skepticism of this inquiry I propose now to meet, by asserting a judicial process continually going forward in the Court of Time, and reversing the judgments which are rendered under the passions of the passing hour.

I. There is in the human breast a sense of justice, the noblest relic of that image of God in which man was first created. Our nature is majestic, even in its wreck. As the broken column, half hidden in the sand, reveals the ancient glory of a Baalbec, so, amid the ruins of the fall, we discover traces of the grandeur of soul with which man was originally endowed. The achievements of science reveal the splendor of his intellect, though darkened by sin. The sweet charities that bloom still in the desert he has made, disclose him as once the peer of the angels in love. The very superstition that cowers in fear before its bloody altars proves his early priesthood amongst the worshipers of God. And so this rugged sense of justice remains—shattered and defaced it may be, blinded by passion, warped by prejudice, blundering through error and ignorance into a thousand mistakes; yet there it is, a permanent attribute in man, answering back through conscience as its organ to the justice that is in God.

Indeed it is just this principle that underlies the whole framework of government and law. The magistrate would

bear the sword in vain, and all the insignia of empire would be a mockery, were not the instinct of obedience planted in the human breast. The whole machinery of justice in our courts would lock, unless driven by this spirit within its wheels. Conscience becomes the organ of law, simply because it interprets before its secret tribunal that unpronounced sense of justice which lies at the foundation of our moral nature. Hence, whenever this becomes corrupt or fails to be duly educated, men wax impatient of the artificial restraints of law, and those gigantic systems of despotism are created which simply overwhelm resistance by the exhibition of brutal force.

The argument to our conclusion is very short. If there be in man this ineradicable principle of justice, the corner-stone by which the entire fabric of society is held together, then should we expect to trace its operation through the whole domain of history. It is no dormant property of our nature, but one lying at the root of all human activity in every sphere and relation of life. It may be overlaid for a time, so as to be apparently suppressed. It may vacillate in its judgments, from the conflicting evidence upon which it rests. It may oftener still take a false direction and render verdicts unsafe and untrue. It may be blinded by the mists of passion, distorting the objects presented to its view. But from these very causes will arise an unsatisfactoriness in its earlier decisions, begetting a suspicion as to the truth of the finding. It will then go back upon its path, sifting its own prejudices, breaking through the obstacles with which malevolence and ignorance block up its way, placing itself in all the crosslights shooting upon its search, until a verdict is found that shall lay its unquiet spirit to rest, and the final decision is nailed against the walls of its Chancery, which the universal conscience of mankind shall recognize as "true and righteous altogether."

It will, however, be asked where are the chambers of this High Court of Commission, before which old issues are to be thus retried? What judges sit, from whose decision there can be no appeal except to the bar of God? Whence the advocate,

who flings his broad indictment over the defamations of all the centuries? These are questions not difficult to answer. The Forum where this high adjudication is held is the broad world itself. The public conscience is the judge, roused to honesty by the very responsibility of his function. The intelligence and virtue, the truth and candor of the race, constitute the panel before which the cause is pleaded. And a sublime Providence raises up the advocates who speak—men of a judicial build, and who have a lofty scorn for all the shams and cheats which have been the idolatries of the past. Look at Motley—drawing from the archives of the Escorial the damning evidence which had slept these three hundred years, upon which the Second Philip is convicted as the blackest felon that ever disgraced the purple. On the same page too stands the silent William, in all the relief of contrast: the man who, out of the loss of every battle, wrung even from defeat and massacre the redemption of his country; and who in matchless endurance and moral sublimity is the only prototype in European history of the American Washington and of our own immortal Lee. Look again at Carlyle, with his rugged honesty piercing the flams and falsehoods circling around the corridors of history; and in his uncouth, inverted style, rescuing Cromwell from the crime of regicide. Planting his burly form against the billows, he rolls back from the Puritan Protector the tide of prejudice which had swelled against his just fame these two hundred years. At the touch of his disenchanting wand, the motley fools-garb, in which the wit and satire of England's great novelist had clothed those pragmatistical Round Heads, falls aside, and to-day the verdict of history stands recorded that all of constitutional liberty which England enjoys is due to those men of robust principle, who beneath the mask of a fantastic piety were yet loyal to truth, and had the stubborn will to place law and freedom upon the throne of the Stuarts. And then Macaulay: whose gorgeous colors throw upon the canvas the long conflict of 1648 to 1688 as the struggle between prerogative and privilege, upon whose issues hang all the chartered rights possessed this day on either side of the Atlantic. Who

too could have dreamed that, under a pure sense of historic justice, the Socinian Bancroft would come forth from all the prejudices of his cold philosophy to be the special advocate of the great Calvin? Or that the free-thinking Froude would stand before the University of St. Andrews to pronounce the eulogy of the Genevan hero in the memorable proposition, that "whatever may be thought as to the truth of his dogmatic creed, the only men who have wrestled successfully in life's great battle and rescued it from defeat have been the men who, under some form of philosophy or religion, have recognized the ordinations of a supreme will ruling over the contingencies of this earthly sphere."

Surely all this does not happen by mysterious chance. These are not solitary and accidental revelations, through a wayward fancy stumbling haphazard upon the truth. Consider it well and you shall find illustrations of this historic justice crowding upon you, unraveling the dark deeds of the past and bringing you face to face with prejudices that are hoary with age. Somehow, the good who have been stabbed by slander will not sleep in peace. Their restless ghosts wander above their historic tombs, flitting in the dim moonlight, until their spell is cast upon some champion of their wrongs. Passions, too, that have shaken the world to its centre, subside at last. The mists of error roll away after hanging their curtains long around the truth. A holy Providence gives the token of its own judicial process by and by in that lower tribunal it has erected in the human breast, and eternal justice throws its great shadow upon the earth in these solemn historic retractions—the last judicial findings in its court of appeal.

II. But we are not remanded to purely abstract reasoning in this matter. History is but the record of theories and principles, the scope of which can be fully understood only in the results they produce. And God has so conditioned this probationary life that, whether it be for good or evil, these results are allowed to accrue with little of intervention or restraint. By consequence, history is throughout the progress of a trial. The actions of men are brought under criti-

ical review in the light of the fruits they produce. In the long unfolding indeed of these, contradictions continually emerge which are the opprobrium of Providence. Hence men of every faith, and men of no faith, stumble over the scandals of the Divine government. Good and evil are jumbled together in a strange mixture. The virtuous and the vile move together on the same plane, apparently under the same protection and in the enjoyment of equal blessings. Nay, the discrimination seems often to be against the good, who, though declared to be in favor with God, go with their heads bowed like the bullrush, while the wicked prosper in the earth until their eyes stand out with fatness, and men in their partial induction leap rashly to the Epicurean conception of a Deity in stately repose, wholly unmindful of the affairs of earth. The mistake lies in forgetting the disciplinary character of life. They measure the arc of their little segment of Providence and think it the diameter of the entire circle. His comprehensive plan takes in the breadth of all the ages. The limits even of time are overstepped, and the threads broken by death are woven into a new fabric beyond the stars. Not till the vast tapestry is unrolled before us in the pavilion above, and the constituent figures are seen to be traced with an exquisite unity of design, are we prepared to form a judgment of the whole. But though we may not be able to sum up all the equations of this problem, there is nothing to hinder the application of the great principle at each stage of the calculation. If the whole dispensation of Providence would be understood, if gathered into its final result, we may surely try the separate portions by the proximate fruits which they yield. Indeed, we are shut up to this by simple necessity, and these conclusions become stations along the highway of history by which we measure our progress and at which we pause for momentary repose. They constitute new points of departure for succeeding observations, which we hang up as lanterns in the darkness of the path which we are treading.

Accepting then the disciplinary character of life, we have a clue to the interpretation of history. We no longer wonder

(1) The first of these is the fact that the
 (2) second of these is the fact that the
 (3) third of these is the fact that the
 (4) fourth of these is the fact that the
 (5) fifth of these is the fact that the
 (6) sixth of these is the fact that the
 (7) seventh of these is the fact that the
 (8) eighth of these is the fact that the
 (9) ninth of these is the fact that the
 (10) tenth of these is the fact that the
 (11) eleventh of these is the fact that the
 (12) twelfth of these is the fact that the
 (13) thirteenth of these is the fact that the
 (14) fourteenth of these is the fact that the
 (15) fifteenth of these is the fact that the
 (16) sixteenth of these is the fact that the
 (17) seventeenth of these is the fact that the
 (18) eighteenth of these is the fact that the
 (19) nineteenth of these is the fact that the
 (20) twentieth of these is the fact that the
 (21) twenty-first of these is the fact that the
 (22) twenty-second of these is the fact that the
 (23) twenty-third of these is the fact that the
 (24) twenty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (25) twenty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (26) twenty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (27) twenty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (28) twenty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (29) twenty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (30) thirtieth of these is the fact that the
 (31) thirty-first of these is the fact that the
 (32) thirty-second of these is the fact that the
 (33) thirty-third of these is the fact that the
 (34) thirty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (35) thirty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (36) thirty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (37) thirty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (38) thirty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (39) thirty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (40) fortieth of these is the fact that the
 (41) forty-first of these is the fact that the
 (42) forty-second of these is the fact that the
 (43) forty-third of these is the fact that the
 (44) forty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (45) forty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (46) forty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (47) forty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (48) forty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (49) forty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (50) fiftieth of these is the fact that the
 (51) fifty-first of these is the fact that the
 (52) fifty-second of these is the fact that the
 (53) fifty-third of these is the fact that the
 (54) fifty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (55) fifty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (56) fifty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (57) fifty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (58) fifty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (59) fifty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (60) sixtieth of these is the fact that the
 (61) sixty-first of these is the fact that the
 (62) sixty-second of these is the fact that the
 (63) sixty-third of these is the fact that the
 (64) sixty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (65) sixty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (66) sixty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (67) sixty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (68) sixty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (69) sixty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (70) seventieth of these is the fact that the
 (71) seventy-first of these is the fact that the
 (72) seventy-second of these is the fact that the
 (73) seventy-third of these is the fact that the
 (74) seventy-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (75) seventy-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (76) seventy-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (77) seventy-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (78) seventy-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (79) seventy-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (80) eightieth of these is the fact that the
 (81) eighty-first of these is the fact that the
 (82) eighty-second of these is the fact that the
 (83) eighty-third of these is the fact that the
 (84) eighty-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (85) eighty-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (86) eighty-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (87) eighty-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (88) eighty-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (89) eighty-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (90) ninetieth of these is the fact that the
 (91) ninety-first of these is the fact that the
 (92) ninety-second of these is the fact that the
 (93) ninety-third of these is the fact that the
 (94) ninety-fourth of these is the fact that the
 (95) ninety-fifth of these is the fact that the
 (96) ninety-sixth of these is the fact that the
 (97) ninety-seventh of these is the fact that the
 (98) ninety-eighth of these is the fact that the
 (99) ninety-ninth of these is the fact that the
 (100) hundredth of these is the fact that the

at the strange tolerance of evil, which has ever been the opprobrium of Providence. God's method, we see, is to afford man his opportunity. His true character will work itself out; and the nature and the worth of his principles will be determined by the issue. Nothing is wanted but the element of time. When his career is fully run, the world will pronounce its irreversible judgment. As with individuals so with nations. These, too, run their allotted course, with full liberty to develop the principles on which they are based. Every false theory of government, like the flaw in cast-iron machinery, reveals itself as soon as it has had time to grow warm by friction, and the unusual strain presses against the weak spot. It may lie hidden long, far down among the principles untested as yet, but when the crisis comes its unsuspected power is disclosed, and with it the crash that astounds the world.

Here then is the second joint in our argument. Misrepresentation and calumny may becloud many an honorable name, and the world lavish its praise upon the traducers for a time—and for a time so long that the decree may seem fixed forever which assigns the historic position of both. But when the policy of each shall be fully ascertained, and the remote effects as well as the near have been traced through centuries, an indignant world rises up in judicial resentment against the fraud practised upon its credulity, and takes reprisal for the wrong in the complete reversal of its previous judgment. The decision pronounced is final, because rendered in a court of appeal, and because the evidence is perfect upon which it rests.

Indeed, this is the only species of retribution which can be visited on States as such. Individuals stand in personal relations to the divine law and retribution meets them in another world. But corporations are impersonal and limited in duration to this lower sphere. If then the Providence of God extend over them at all, it must manifest itself in the misfortunes which befall them here. The deep conviction of this earthly retribution finds expression in the proverbs, which so pithily represent the collective conscience and reason of the

race. "The mills of the Gods grind very slow, but they grind very small." "The Gods are just, and of our pleasant vices make instruments to scourge us;" which is but another reading of the inspired aphorism, "They shall eat of the fruit of their own way and be filled with their own devices." And what was that fine conception of the Greek Nemesis, checking the extravagant favors conferred by fortune and the avenging Deity who sooner or later overtakes the reckless in their faults, but an impersonation of this earthly justice; which on its lower plane is the type of the divine and "vindicates the ways of God to men?"

The illustration of this from the facts of history would involve the transcription of almost the entire record. Let a few examples suffice. Every reader knows how the fierce struggle between the plebeian and patrician orders ran through the stormy history of the Roman Republic. But not until the entire history of that martial people had been subjected to re-examination was it discovered to be the secret yet real cause of their overthrow. It had its origin in the aristocratic sentiment which identified the State with the founders of the imperial city. Its population, daily increasing by conquest, was admitted only to a qualified citizenship—forming no healthy middle order, but really the subjects of a governing class. It was inevitable that they, who bore the burdens and did the fighting of the State, should clamor for the recognition of their power; and their open mutiny brought the infant Republic more than once to the verge of ruin. The catastrophe was delayed through the political idolatry of the State, which was the peculiar feature of Roman history. Interminable wars resulted in the gradual absorption of the Italian States; and then Rome, stepping from Sicily upon the shores of Africa, entered through the destruction of Carthage upon those imperial conquests which made her the mistress of the world. In the words of another, "her empire spread like a vast arch over the Mediterranean basin, with one foot resting upon the Atlas and the other upon the Taurus." But there was not the inherent strength to support the mighty superstructure. With no grand commonalty with clearly de

finer rights, there was nothing to which the conquered races could be assimilated; and no bulwark could be raised against the corruption flowing upon the bosom of such enormous wealth. "The Roman aristocracy was intoxicated, insatiable, irresistible—the middle class was gone—there was nothing but profligate nobles and a diabolical populace." Such is the language of Draper, who tersely adds: "And now it was plain that the contest for supreme power lay between a few leading men. It found an issue in the first triumvirate. * * * Affairs then passed through their inevitable course. The death of Crassus and the battle of Pharsalia left Cæsar the master of the world. The dagger of Brutus merely removed a man, but it left the fact. The battle of Actium reaffirmed the destiny of Rome, and the death of the Republic was illustrated by the annexation of [Egypt]." Thus, after the lapse of 2000 years, do we summon ancient Rome before the tribunal of history, to be weighed in the scales of equal justice. Thus do we trace the secret cause of that strange metempsychosis by which she slipped from a republic into an empire, back to a fatal schism in her original constitution, preventing her people from being welded into a homogeneous State. And thus do we see the long reproach lifted from her Gracchi; who pass from beneath the censure of an offensive Agrarianism into earnest patriots, who vainly sought to heal the wounds of "the gored State," and to stay the ruin by which it was finally overwhelmed.

Turn your attention next to Spain. Early in the sixteenth century, by the annexation of Portugal and a political combination with Austria and England, as well as by her immense possessions in the new world, overshadowing all Europe with her greatness—beneath which the other powers stood shivering with fear. Yet in the bosom of her fierce despotism lay the seeds of her early dissolution. In the language of the writer whom I have already cited, "it was her evil fortune to ruin two civilizations, oriental and occidental, and to be ruined thereby herself." Her intolerant bigotry lost her the Netherlands, just rising into opulence and power, through which she might have controlled the commer-

cial interests of the Continent. Her expulsion of the Moors, who had become the children of her soil, enriching her with the learning, industry and art of the East, robbed her of the opportunity which England seized of becoming through her manufactures the mart of Europe. The daily importation from her mines in America, and the consequent diversion of her people from those pursuits by which alone national wealth can be created, sunk her into the condition of a mere broker in the precious metals. Now for generations she has stood, as Draper says, "a hideous skeleton among living nations"—a terrible example of that avenging Nemesis following upon the track of guilty nations and scourging them for their crimes.

Shall I point you to the Communists of modern France ? The fatal song of the Syrens, luring the unwary mariner upon the rock of Scylla, breathed no more seducing accents than those of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," which roused the passions of the wild enthusiasts dancing around the Tricolor of the French Revolution. But the true import of those insane ravings was soon read amid the horrors of the Bastille and the Guillotine, until the world stood aghast at the frightful spectacle of crime and blood. And the burning Paris of but yesterday, spared by the conquering Prussian only to smoulder beneath the torch of her own incendiaries, tells the bitter fruit of that Radicalism sweeping like a whirlwind over Europe and America; and which, unless checked by the power of God, will yet sack the world and lay the earth in ashes at His feet.

III. The last consideration to be urged will be presented in fewer words. It is that, whatever doubt may hang around the truth of particular and isolated facts, there is in every portion of history an amount of generalized truth, in reference to which skepticism would be simple affectation. A remarkable effort has been made in our day to reduce history to the category of a positive science, by the statement of the necessary laws under which human actions are produced. In an elaborate work treasuring the labors of a studious life, but arrested before completion by the hand of death, Mr. Buckle pushes the reign of

inexorable law into the sphere of the variable and contingent. Not content with the proposition that the volitions of the human will are determined by a law of their own, inscrutable to the reason but perfectly consistent with freedom and responsibility, he boldly pronounces that the connections of cause and effect are as traceable here as in every other department of nature—where from given conditions the consequences may be anticipated by the processes of logic. He proceeds, therefore, to analyze the elements of human character, and to enumerate the possible conditions of human conduct; deducing the conclusion that history, in all its forms, is a natural development, like the growth of a tree. This, at least, is the representation of his theory given by his reviewer, Mr. Froude, who, besides being a philosopher, is also an historian, and who, on the other hand, objects that the facts of history never repeat themselves—and that we have not that recurrence and periodicity upon which the inductions of natural science rest. He concludes, therefore, that “it would be just as easy to calculate men’s actions by laws like those of the positive philosophy as it would be to measure Neptune with a foot-rule, or to weigh Sirius in a grocer’s scale.”

All this is immensely typical. Between these extremes, all along the dotted line, there is every shade of credulity in the facts and deductions of history, and every phase of skepticism as to both. With those who encounter disaster and defeat, there is a prevailing tendency to spurn the testimony of all human records. They are in a condition to see how history is manufactured for a purpose; how an impudent partisanship manipulates the facts; how the truth which one personally knows, is suppressed; how gross fictions are stereotyped by endless repetition; how the brand of injurious epithets is freely used to stamp falsehood with the seal of truth; how misrepresentation and calumny are stuffed into books and circulated around the world to preoccupy the minds of men. Is it strange that some should morbidly infer all history to be a romance at best, if it be not also a libel and a slander? To which I reply that, with all the uncertainty hanging about this or that particular fact, there is a

residuum of truth which can not be destroyed, and which constitutes a basis for a safe appeal to the judgment of posterity. For instance, throw into fable all the achievements of Semiramis and Sesostris; still Assyrian and Egyptian histories will survive—which, in the aggregate, we are able to measure, and whose precise value we can determine. History delves amid the ruins of Nineveh and Persepolis, walks around the hanging gardens of Babylon, surveys the temples and tombs and pyramids of Egypt, calculates the physical force that lay in all those ancient despotisms, and then pronounces her decree. It is that this long succession of gigantic empires simply held the world, until the light of freedom could break from the West; until, out of the bosom of a better civilization, philosophy and science could rescue it from a superstitious and fantastic imagination. It points the wholesome moral, that of all things on earth nothing is weaker than what men call force; and in its calm, judicial tone, utters a withering sarcasm upon the ambition and achievements of the sword.

Regard the siege of Troy as a myth; renounce all belief in the existence of Hector and Achilles; discount the more veritable records of Xerxes binding with foolish chains the angry Hellespont—or of Leonidas holding at bay the hosts of Persia in the pass of Thermopylæ; or the sublime story of Themistocles gathering her population within the wooden walls of his fleet, and, standing on the prow of his own ship, exclaiming "This now is Athens." Yet when you have winnowed Grecian history of a thousand legends, and even of many of her accredited facts, there it stands before you with its indented coast-line, and you pronounce to-day just how much Greece has been worth to the world. In the vast Pantheon of history she has a niche which no nation on the globe can occupy but herself.

Let Niebuhr with his dissecting criticism prune away the legends of ancient Rome; let the stories of Romulus and the she wolf, of Numa and the nymph Egeria, dissolve like the mountain mist; yet Roman history will remain in rugged grandeur, throwing its bleak form against the background

of the sky—working out the great problems of government and law, and laying the broad foundation on which rest the systems of jurisprudence and the constitutions of civil government still obtaining amongst men. In like manner we pass through all the galleries of modern history and unlock the chambers in which the dusty archives of European diplomacy are kept—assigning to each country its proper place, and the contribution made by each to the common civilization.

What I affirm then is this: That the value of these final generalizations is scarcely impaired by the doubt as to this or that minute fact. Contemporaneous history written in the interest of prejudice or passion may be largely a libel, and future criticism may be sorely puzzled to distinguish between the truth and its travesty; yet in the aggregate result these, by a strange smelting process, are sifted out as not material to the issue. As we may poison a fountain but can not poison the ocean, so we may corrupt single facts, but can not transmute the whole history of a people into a lie. A thousand hints of the truth will lie imbedded in the record, which antiquarian research will disentomb. The long silent voices will deliver their testimony in the court of final adjudication, and in these solemn historic retractions, the last judicial finding in its court of appeal, the good and the brave will find an honest vindication.

Ladies and gentlemen, the application of this discourse is left to silence and to you. That which hath been, is now; and that which is to be, hath already been. Inveective and reproach will continue, in the sacred name of history, to be poured upon those who deserve only her applause. The faithful witnesses of the truth will go in cloud and sorrow to the tomb, burying their principles only in a protest. But they will do it in the certain faith of a resurrection. As for their own fame, they can afford to wait. Eternity is long, and it is their lifetime. Upon the lip of that boundless sea their prophetic gaze is fixed upon the burnished throne which human justice makes its last tribunal, and before which the nations and the centuries are arraigned for trial. Defamation

and slander rest as lightly on their calm spirits as the salt spray that crystallizes upon the silent rock. If, too, the warnings of the past, like the prophecies of Cassandra, are heard only to be disbelieved—still let the despots of earth know they are but sowing the Dragon's teeth of an armed and fierce retribution. Constitutional freedom has not come forth from the conflict of ages to be stifled now when her broad shield is thrown over two continents. She will reappear again and again amid the birth-throes of regenerated States; for regulated liberty is to the commonwealth what piety is to the church, the very law of its life. Both have struggled through corruption and decay to a more complete realization. But if the day should come when despotism shall so far consolidate its power as to crush all human freedom beneath its iron heel, then will be consummated the second apostasy of man after the flood in the usurpation of Nimrod. History will have completed its cycle, and nothing will remain but the call to the universal judgment.

To the society which I have the honor this evening to address I may be allowed to say that in the doctrine of this discourse is to be found the reason of its existence. Each generation, as it takes its place in the long succession, owes a debt to the past and to the future. The obligation is most sacred to collect every shred of testimony throwing light upon the history of the past and of the present, and to transmit the record to the ages that come after. Only thus can the evidence be accumulated upon which a final judgment can be safely pronounced. Whilst contemporaneous testimony may be tinged with prejudice and passion, historic criticism will censure it only as the iron in the marble which sometimes discolours its polished surface.

No State in the Union has a more romantic history than Louisiana. Having its root in three of the proudest nations of Europe, it mingles the characteristics of them all. As the fusion becomes more complete, a composite character is being formed which should be as noble as it is unique. It is a work of love appealing especially to those who live at the

present juncture, which should rally under your banner every generous citizen and cultivated scholar throughout the commonwealth.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OFFICERS.

ALCÉE FORTIER.....	President.
GRACE KING.....	First Vice President.
GUSTAVE DEVRON, M. D.....	Second Vice President.
JNO. R. FICKLEN.....	Secretary and Treasurer.
J. H. RAPP.....	Assistant Secretary.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Aldrich, Charles.....	Iowa
Barrett, Jay Amos.....	Nebraska
Butler, J. D.....	Wisconsin
Dunn, J. P.....	Indiana
Foster, Gov. Murphy J.....	Louisiana
Gayarré, Hon. Chas.....	Louisiana
Janssens, Mgr. Francis.....	Archbishop of Louisiana
Lane, Vincent J.....	Missouri
Shoemaker, Michael.....	Michigan
Thwaites, Reuben G.....	Wisconsin
Vignaud, Henry.....	Secretary American Legation, Paris
Winslow, Wm. C.....	Boston

MEMBERS.

Andry, George C.

Baker, Page M.
Baldwin, Harry
Beer, Wm.
Blanchard, Hon. N. C.
Brittin, Mrs. A.

Cage, H. C.
Chalaron, J. A.
Cottam, H. J,
Cusachs, P. L., Jr.
Cusachs, M. Gaspar

Davis, Thos. E.
Deiler, J. Hanno
Dimitry, Chas. Patton
Dixon, Brandt V. B.
Dymond, John

Farrar, E. H.
Favrot, L. M.
Fenner, Mrs. Chas. E.
Ficklen, John R.
Forman, B. R., Jr.
Fortier, Alcée
Freret, Jas.

Garland, H. L.
Grima, Edgar

Hawkes, Capt. J. G.
Hill, Col. J. D.
Hughes, W. L.

Baldwin, Mrs. Harry
Blake, Mrs. F. P.
Breaux, G. A.
Brunswig, L. N.
Butler, Pierce

Chaffraix, Mrs. D. A.
Chretien, F. D.
Cruzat, Joseph W.
Cusachs, Chas. V.

Day, Roland
Devron, Dr. Gustave
Dimitry, John
*Dufour, Numa

Favrot, H. L.
Fenner, Judge Chas. E.
Ferguson, Judge T. H.
Florance, Ernest T.
Formento, Dr. Felix
Freret, F. G.

Gill, Chas. G.

Heller, Rabbi Max
Howe, Judge W. W.

Johnston, Col. Wm. Preston, Johnston, Mrs. Wm. Preston
Joubert, Leon

King, Miss Grace
Kohn, Carl

King, Judge Fred. D.

Le Doux, Mrs. Alphonse
Lewis, Dr. Ernest S.
Livaudais, J. L.
Lyons, I. L.

Le Duc, Mrs. Alphonse
Limongi, Felix
Lombard, E. H.
Lyons, Mrs. I. L.

May, A. H.
McCaleb, Thomas
McLaughlin, J. J

Myer, Victor
McConnell, J. M., Jr.

Nicholls, Chief Justice F. T. Nicholson, George
Nixon, Mrs. Jennie C.

Palmer, Rev. B. M.
Poché, Judge F. P.

Parker, C. Harrison
Préot, George C.

Quintero, Lamar C.

Rainold, F. E.
Rightor, Judge N. H.
Roman, Mrs. Alfred

Rapp, J. H.
Rightor, Henry
Rosen, Charles

Sessums, Bishop Davis
Smith, Wm. B.
Stamps, Mrs. Mary

Seymour, Judge W. H.
Souchon, Dr. Edmond

Tuyes, Jules

Von Phul, William

Walmsley, R. M.
Wharton, F. P.

Walmsley, Mrs. R. M.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I, PART II, 1895.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION:

PROF. ALCÉE FORTIER,

MISS GRACE KING,

DR. G. DEVRON,

PROF. J. H. RAPP,

PROF. J. R. FICKLEN.

NEW ORLEANS:

L. Graham & Son, Ltd., Printers, 207-211 Baronne St.
1895.

PUBLICATIONS

1900

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Vol. I, No. 1, 1900

Published by the Louisiana Historical Society

For Sale by the Louisiana Historical Society

Price, \$1.00 per volume

Subscription price, \$5.00 per annum

Published by the Louisiana Historical Society

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The regular monthly meeting of the Louisiana Historical Society was held at Tulane Hall, February 20, 1895. Prof. Alcée Fortier presided, and Prof. John R. Ficklen was at the secretary's desk.

After calling the meeting to order, Prof. Fortier delivered the appended eulogy on the life work of the lamented Judge Gayarré, one of the founders of the society:

Ladies and Gentlemen—In opening the meeting, it is my sad duty to announce to you officially the death, on February 11, 1895, of our venerated and distinguished ex-president and honorary member, Charles Gayarré. Although the historian of Louisiana had reached extreme old age, the death of such a man is a great loss to the State which he loved and served so well. Until recently he labored with tireless energy, and his last writings showed no trace of senile decay. When, a few years ago, his eyesight failed him and he had to lay aside his indefatigable pen, his mental vigor remained unimpaired, and he stood a connecting link between the last century and the present time. Born in 1805, Mr. Gayarré knew a number of men of French and Spanish colonial days, and he was an eye witness of all the events which took place in Louisiana from the cession to the United States to the last years of this century. How interesting, therefore, how important, was the conversation of such a man, and how many incidents worthy of record have passed away with him. He was so kind, so generous, he had such delicacy of feeling that he never consented to write his memoirs. Only three weeks ago he told me that he did not think it was right to reveal to the world the thoughts and words of men with whom he had been intimately connected, and who spoke and acted in his presence without reserve and with perfect confidence in his discretion. Such a feeling is most honorable, but we must deplore the fact that we do not possess the memoirs of Gayarré. I wish

to lay stress on this point, because it is too often believed that the life of an old man is useless. Mr. Gayarré wrote many volumes, but his conversation was as valuable and as instructive as his books. His manners, also, were so perfect, he was such a gentleman, that his was an atmosphere of refinement most beneficial to those who approached him. An old man, with his mental faculties well preserved, is, indeed, a blessing to his friends and to the community in which he lives. A word of encouragement from Dr. Alfred Mercier and from Charles Gayarré was most valuable, and all young men who had the good fortune to know these two eminent Louisianians will feel forever the influence on their career.

Charles Gayarré was wonderfully gifted, and was a statesman and a jurist as well as a writer. At the age of 20 we see him oppose, with success, Edward Livingston, who sought to abolish capital punishment. In 1828 he was admitted to the Philadelphia bar, and in 1829 to the Louisiana bar. In 1830 he was elected a representative of the city of New Orleans in the Legislature. In 1831 he was appointed Assistant Attorney General of the State. In 1832 he became presiding judge of the city court, and in 1835 he was elected to the United States Senate. His ill health compelled him to go to Europe and to resign the Senatorship, and he remained in Europe until 1843. On his return home he was elected to the Legislature in 1844, and re-elected in 1846, but in the same year he accepted the office of Secretary of State, tendered him by Governor Isaac Johnson. He served for seven years, having been re-appointed by Governor Jos. Walker in 1850. It was as Secretary of State that Mr. Gayarré rendered the greatest services to Louisiana. He made most judicious purchases of books for the State library and collected the important historical documents now in the custody of our society. From 1853 to 1877 Mr. Gayarré continued to take an active part in the politics of the State, and he delivered many addresses on public subjects. His whole career as a public man was marked by fearless devotion to duty and honor.

Mr. Gayarré served his State in many official capacities, but he erected with his pen to the glory of Louisiana an im-

perishable monument. He wrote and rewrote in three different works the history of Louisiana, and his native State owes him a debt of gratitude which she can never repay. Let us hope that Louisiana, one day, will heed the words of Mgr. Janssens, and erect a statue to her most illustrious man of letters. If Gayarré had lived and died in France, he would be buried in the Pantheon, by the side of Rousseau, Voltaire and Hugo. Let us also remember our illustrious dead and prove to posterity our high appreciation for long and faithful services. Mr. Gayarré wrote the history of Louisiana, and was one of the founders of the historical society which is to continue his labors. Surely these are services which can never be forgotten.

We must remember that Mr. Gayarré was not only a historian. His two historical novels, "Fernando de Lemos" and "Aubert Dubayet," are works of great merit. The former is poetical and interesting, and the latter is written with an eloquence often not unworthy of Mirabeau, whose character is so well portrayed in the book. Mr. Gayarré was witty, and his two comedies, "The School for Politics" and "Dr. Bluff in Russia," are very amusing. His "Philip the Second" is probably his most original work, if we consider his conception of the subject. The gloomy tyrant of the Escorial is presented to us on his deathbed, and then all the events of his life are reviewed, as if to crush the despot under the weight of his crimes.

Mr. Gayarré was a Creole, and spoke and wrote French admirably. The descendants of the French and Spanish colonists will always be grateful to him for his masterly refutations of Mr. Cable's statements about the Creoles, and he will always be named with Audubon and Beauregard as one of the three most distinguished Louisianians of the Latin race.

Mr. Gayarré published a great number of articles in the magazines and newspapers, and they are all valuable. His most interesting article, however, in my opinion, is his "Louisiana Sugar Plantation of the Old Regime," published in *Harper's Monthly*, March, 1887. There the author gives a

graphic description of ante-bellum days and of Etienne de Boré's plantation, where sugar was made with success for the first time.

The public press, since Mr. Gayarré's death, has given a very complete account of his life and works, but I believe that it is eminently proper that this society should pay its tribute of homage to the historian of Louisiana. We should adopt resolutions expressing our regret at his death and our deep sympathy with his devoted and noble wife.

In accordance with the suggestion of Prof. Fortier, a motion was made to appoint a committee to draft resolutions expressing the regret of the association on the death of the distinguished historian, and Judge W. W. Howe, Miss Grace King, Mr. H. L. Favrot and Prof. J. R. Ficklen were named by the president as a committee for that purpose.

The committee, having met, unanimously adopted as its report the eulogy just pronounced by the president.

OLD PAPERS OF COLONIAL TIMES.

BY ALCÉE FORTIER.

I.

Among the archives of the Louisiana Historical Society are a number of wooden boxes containing judicial papers of colonial times. The writer has thought that it might be interesting to give an idea of days long past by relating some of the incidents referred to in the old papers of the French and Spanish dominations. He has, therefore, devoted many hours to reading a large number of documents 100 and 150 years old, and it seemed to him, while looking over wills, and marriage contracts, and private letters, and petitions of lawyers and of individuals of all trades and professions, that he was living in old Louisiana. He could see distinctly the small French town, with its inhabitants so loyal to King Louis, and he entered the houses on Royal and St. Louis streets and was introduced by the head of the family to his wife and children. Such is the feeling experienced by read-

ing old documents; the men of those days revive and they appear before us with their virtues and their defects, some personal to themselves, and others belonging to the age in which they lived. The Louisianians of the eighteenth century seem to have been truly religious and honorable, but their ideas appear peculiar to us, and their language, as seen in their judicial papers, is somewhat naive and bombastic. The bombastic style, however, in the eighteenth century was not restricted to Louisiana. We see it but too often in the writings of French authors, especially of the lesser dramatists. They seem to speak to posterity, and they use the longest words to express what they consider to be deep philosophy. Fortunately, says M. Petit de Julleville, the eminent French critic, the writers of the eighteenth century have kept the secret of their style and have not transmitted it to us. It is, however, curious to make a study of that style as exemplified in our Louisiana documents, and to try to understand what was the condition of things in colonial days. We shall choose papers of different years, and of the two dominations, so as to give a better idea of manners and customs. The sole purpose of the writer of these lines is to call attention to the history of Louisiana in all its different aspects, and he has too much respect for the memory of his own ancestors of colonial times to write a single word that might appear irreverent about the Louisianians of the eighteenth century.

The papers contained in the box marked 1768 and 1769 are of special interest, as they bear the signature of Lafrénière as Attorney General. It is well known that in October, 1768, the colonists expelled Ulloa, the Spanish Governor, and it is interesting to read petitions addressed to that Superior Council, which had the boldness and the patriotism to issue virtually the decree of expulsion of Ulloa. A few months later O'Reilly arrived, and on September 28, 1769, Lafrénière and four of his heroic friends were executed, while others were sent to prison. The insurrection against the Spanish Governor was general, as the petition sent to the Superior Council asking that Ulloa either show his power or depart, was signed by 560 respectable inhabitants. Foucault, the com-

missary or ordonnateur, was one of the instigators of the revolution or 1768, but as he was an officer of the King of France he claimed that he was only accountable to the latter for his conduct, and he was sent back to France. He was first judge of the Council, and his name and that of Lafrénière are to be seen on almost all the French papers for a number of years. We look with sadness at the signature of Lafrénière in April and May, 1769, as probably the last documents signed in his official capacity by the eloquent and intrepid Louisianian.

We shall now give an account of a lawsuit which gives a good idea of judicial proceedings and of the style of petitions in April, 1769.

Alexandre Reboul, merchant, to Nos Seigneurs of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana: He states in substance, that the Sieur Voisin, being very sick, his family thought it advisable to send him to town to be treated, and he stayed at the Sieur Reboul's house, where he died. The plaintiff claims compensation for expenses incurred by having at his house three persons—that is to say, the widow and the children, besides three slaves. He says that they remained more than a month during the sickness of the Sieur Voisin, and about fifteen days after his death. Plaintiff states that the Widow Voisin wishes to deprive him of his rights, but that he owes it to his minor children to insist upon his privilege, and he claims 750 livres.

The petition is signed April 22, 1769, and on April 29, De Lalande, probably acting in Foucault's absence, orders the case to be brought before the Superior Council. Edme Tranchant Dupuy, huissier, certifies that he has notified all parties interested to appear before the council.

The answer of the Widow Voisin, through her lawyer, the Sieur Billoard Ch. Dessales, is very curious:

“To the demand little civil of the Sieur Reboul:

“Never have defences been more painful to present than those which the defendant offers to-day for Madame Voisin; obliged to do so, however, he has consulted the said lady, who found herself in consternation and overwhelmed with the

greatest resentment and the greatest grief; she has the misfortune to see the children of the late *Sieur Voisin* embittered against her on account of her renunciation of the marriage community, which she has done for the sole purpose of providing a piece of bread for her poor children, who are minors and of tender age. What could the children of the late *Mr. Voisin* require, or rather what would they require, they who are provided for, who have means, who enjoy the comforts of a quiet life? did they wish that she should abandon to them her own property, to her detriment and that of her own children? could she do so? and if she had done so, would not her conscience have been alarmed, even lacerated? On the contrary, she threw herself at the feet of the tribunal to implore its justice and be put in possession of the property she had before she married the *Sieur Voisin*, and in that way to protect her children from indigence.

“Ought the *Sieur Reboul* to use this means to bring the suit ill-measured, and most common which he brings to-day? If it costs the Widow *Voisin* tears, sighs and sobs, she will render justice to the *Sieur Reboul*, to whom it must have cost much also to make this demand; brought up in the house of the King, in the most distinguished and high sentiments, and to fall at once to institute such vile suits, if nature does not suffer, at least pride does. The silence which he has kept thus far is the proof of this. Indeed, forgetting all discretion and forgetting himself, he asks 750 livres for the board of four persons and three servants. Madame *Voisin* is far from being unwilling to indemnify the *Sieur Reboul* for the extravagant expenses he may have incurred. She is, however, compelled to state that she remained at the *Sieur Reboul*’s only fifteen days and her daughter *Tonton* fifteen days, and *Marie Voisin* was at her aunt’s; she never had three servants at one time; she had only one negress at a time, who went back to the plantation to rest when she was tired, and the servants brought their food with them from the plantation.

“Now, the expense for twenty-three days for one person can never amount to 750 livres, especially when one has contributed to that expense. Shall this fact be proved? We

are compelled to do so not to be accused of ingratitude. During the whole time that the *Sieur Voisin* was sick at the house of the *Sieur Reboul* there were brought from the plantation of the widow three sheep, ten turkeys, twenty chickens, two barrels rice, one barrel potatoes, and every week four pounds of butter and a quantity of vegetables, as well as eggs, four pounds of candles and twenty loaves of long bread. Shall we say, besides, that very often the boarders wrote tickets for bread, but the *Sieur Reboul*, through generosity, tore them up, and would not allow sending to the baker's? Shall we say that money was given to buy meat, but *Mme. Reboul* took it away from the servants and would not allow it? What more shall we say? We know not how to defend ourselves; that unexpected attack calls for silence, and only leaves a moment to beg the court to consider the statement hereto attached, and to order what will appear proper, so very indignant is *Mme. Voisin* to see in the plaintiff such feelings, and unworthy a former officer in the guards of the King, but such as cause generally lawsuits, in which fortunes are either increased or drained."

The plea of *Procureur Dessalles*, signed May 6, 1769, although somewhat bombastic, is ingenious, and in the closing words he shows that he knew what was meant by the Latin saying: "*In cauda venenum.*" We shall now take leave of him and the *Sieur Reboul*, and pass to another petition.

The tradition in the city is that the name *Gentilly* is a corruption of *Chantilly*, the historical palace of the Prince of *Condé*, which now belongs to the Duke d'Aumale, and has been willed by him to the Institute of France. The writer found lately a paper which proves that *Gentilly* is a family name, or rather the name of a landed estate, which belonged to one of our best-known and oldest Louisiana families.

"To Nos Seigneurs of the Superior Council of the Province of Louisiana :

"The inhabitants of the coast of Gentilly have the honor to represent that a certain Braziller, living on Bayou St. John, has for a number of years taken the liberty to go on

the Gentilly grounds to kill cattle which he pretended to be wild.

"A few years ago, by his own authority, he is said to have left some cattle at a place above Gentilly, called Chef Men-teur, which cattle he left for some time in this continent, and then he had them exported on the other side of the lake, and pretended that there have remained some on the place, since he does not cease with his negroes to hunt cattle and kill any that he chances to meet and carry them across the lake.

"It is well to call your attention to the fact that the greater part of the cattle of the planters of the Gentilly coast are and have been at all time in this continent."

The petition states further that Braziller had just killed two oxen, which he claims to be his, and when Mr. Dreux's negro asked him to show him the skins and heads to see the marks, he said he had no accounts to render, and that his negroes had eaten and burned the heads, using insulting and threatening words in his reply.

The planters notified him not to hunt cattle any more in their continent, but he paid no attention to them, and continued as in the past, and quantities of cattle are missing, especially to Mr. Dreux père, who ought to have from 700 to 800 cattle, and finds that he has less than eighty.

The petitioners ask if anyone has ever heard of a planter or any other individual hunting cattle of the planters and laying his hands upon them without notifying the planters of the neighborhood. They say that Braziller sells as meat of wild oxen what is really meat of French oxen, and that there is nothing more impertinent than this man, who threatens to shoot Mr. Dreux's cattle-keeper.

The petitioners, therefore, pray that Braziller and his negroes be forbidden to hunt cattle or any other game on the Gentilly coast, and that he be condemned to pay a fine to the benefit of the Charity Hospital.

Signed January 14, 1769, by Fazende, S. Bernoudy, Bernoudy, Dreux, Dreux fils, Dreux Gentilly, and by Lafrénière, as Attorney General.

The words "continent," used for the Gentilly coast, and

"French oxen" are curious. The latter expression means, undoubtedly, oxen belonging to some one and not wild. The signature "Dreux Gentilly" proves conclusively that the Gentilly coast was named for some landed estate of the distinguished Dreux family to which belonged the Creole orator and Confederate officer, Charles Dreux.

II.

The Superior Council, to which were addressed the petitions which I related in my last article, went out of existence when O'Reilly took possession of the colony in the name of the King of Spain. A Cabildo was substituted to the council, says Judge Martin, in his "History of Louisiana;" it was composed of six perpetual regidores, two ordinary alcades, an attorney general-syndic and a clerk. The ordinary alcades were judges in New Orleans and decided without appeal all cases where the value of the object in dispute did not exceed 90,000 maravedis, or \$330.88. Beyond this amount an appeal lay to the Cabildo; but, says Judge Martin, "this body did not examine itself the judgment appealed from, but chose two regidores, who, with the alcade who had rendered it, reviewed the proceedings, and if he and either of the regidores approved the decision, it was affirmed."

The Governor's authority was very great, and he had both executive and judicial power, and to some extent, legislative also. In his judicial capacity he had as a counselor the auditor or assessor. The latter individual sometimes had the titles of assessor, auditor and Lieutenant Governor, as in the case of Nicolas Maria Vidal, during Carondelet's administration. In the parishes outside of New Orleans there was a commandant who had jurisdiction in civil cases involving not more than \$20. Beyond that amount the commandant took down the testimony and sent the papers to the Governor. He likewise sent to the Governor the transcript of the evidence in criminal cases and had no authority to judge the accused. He was empowered, however, to arrest and imprison him until the Governor gave his decision. The commandant was a very important personage in a parish, as he had a number of duties to perform.

From what precedes, we see that justice was administered in the city by the two ordinary alcades and by the governor, and in the parishes, to a limited extent, by the commandant. Two other important officials were the "escribano publico," or clerk of the Cabildo, and the translator. From 1788 to the end of the Spanish domination the "escribano" was Pedro Pedesclaux, whose signature we see attached to numerous documents.

These explanations are necessary, as I desire to speak of events that took place in 1795. The Governor at that time was Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet. His administration was marked by internal improvements, and was judicious and wise.

The times of slavery are remote and past forever, and no one regrets them; but as slavery was for many years an institution in Louisiana, it is interesting to see what were the rights of a slave and how he was treated by the courts of justice.

Bautista, a slave of the succession of Widow Reine, states that by the will of his mistress, he was valued at \$350, as she stated that he would become the slave of her son, Estevan, provided the latter paid to the succession the sum stipulated in the will. Bautista says that he has found some one willing to give him the \$350 required, and he begs that the administrator of the succession should grant him his freedom on his paying the above amount of \$350.

The alcade, Don Ignacio Josef de Lovia, summons the negro Bautista and the executor or administrator of the succession to appear before him, and Pedesclaux, the "escribano," certifies to his having notified both. "Doy fee" is the expression he uses.

Don Francisco Cousin, the executor, asks that the testament be produced in court, and the alcade grants the request. This testament, as many which the writer has seen of the time of the Spanish domination, begins with a most fervent prayer, which shows the deep religious feeling of the age. The assertion of the negro is borne out by the will, that his mistress wished to sell him to her son for \$350. The executor,

however, denies that this is the value of the slave, and asks that appraisers be appointed to ascertain the value. Both parties are duly notified, and Bautista chooses Don Bernardo Trémoulet, and the executor Don Geronimo Lachiapella. The appraisers are sworn, and Lachiapella values the slave at \$1100, as being an excellent carpenter, and Trémoulet says that he is worth \$600, because he only works as directed by others. The appraisers not agreeing, the alcade names Don Roberto Jones, master carpenter, as umpire. This decision is communicated to the executor of the estate and to the slave, and the umpire, being sworn, states, like Don Bernardo Trémoulet, that Bautista is not an excellent workman, and he values him at \$800.

The court accepts the appraisalment of the umpire as final, and orders that the parties concerned be informed of the decision. The executor replies that, should the said slave be unable to pay the \$800 stipulated, he (the executor) begs to be authorized to sell him for the account of the succession. The case ends with the statement of Bautista that he can not pay \$800.

The slave is certainly to be pitied that he did not succeed in obtaining his freedom, but throughout the whole proceedings we observe the equity and impartiality of the court. The slave being a property guaranteed by law, the executor of the succession did his duty in trying to obtain as high a price for him as possible, and the court could not do otherwise but require Bautista to pay the amount of the valuation. When we think of the times of slavery let us be just to all concerned. The institution itself was certainly bad, but our ancestors in their dealings with the slaves were, as a rule, as equitable as the alcade Don Ignacio Josef de Lovia, in 1795, in the case of the unfortunate Bautista.

I shall now relate a criminal case in which we catch a glimpse of military life in 1795. Don Francisco Luis Hector, Baron de Carondelet, Knight of the Order of St. John, Brigadier of the Royal Armies, Governor General and Royal Vice Patron of the Province of Louisiana and of West Florida, and Inspector of the Veteran Troops and of the Militia,

said in substance, that on June 3, Martín Villanueva, Captain of the Seventh company of the First Battalion of the Regiment of Infantry, who was on guard with his Colonel, informed the Governor that he had taken to prison a civilian named Faré, whom he met quarreling with a soldier of the Regiment of Mexico. He arrested the latter also, and sent him to his quarters, and took away from Faré a knife, which he brought to the Governor. A soldier named Amort was witness of the facts. The Governor, therefore, ordered the "escribano" Pedesclaux to ascertain the quality and dimensions of the knife, and to summon as experts the master armorer, Pedro Lambert, and the blacksmith, Marcelino Hernandez, who shall testify under oath whether the knife is one of those prohibited by the royal edicts. Captain Villanueva, the soldier Amort, the soldier of the Regiment of Mexico, were also to appear as witnesses in the case, of which the Lieutenant Governor, Nicolas Maria Vidal, was to be the judge.

The "escribano" proceeded to measure the knife, of which he gave a curious and exact drawing, and of which the dimensions were: Blade, seven inches and three lines, with a point; wooden handle, four inches and three lines, and attached to the blade by three nails.

The experts, Lambert and Hernandez, testified under oath—the first through the interpreter, Estevan de Quiñones, the second directly—that the knife was one of which the use was forbidden in the colony.

Capt. Villanueva testified that, being on duty in the evening at the house of his colonel, Don Francisco Bouligny, he heard the sentinel calling, and on going out to see what it was, he perceived a civilian holding a knife in his hand and pursuing a soldier of the Regiment of Mexico. He took the knife from the civilian and carried it to the Governor. Being asked if he knew the civilian, he stated that he was a baker at whose shop the soldiers often bought bread. He added that the individual was very drunk, "muy borracho," as on entering the guard-house he lay down on an old sofa that was there. Being asked if the baker and the soldier of

Mexico were wounded, he replied that they were not, but that the latter bore traces of blows on his face.

The testimony of the soldier of the Regiment of Mexico is quite curious and interesting. He relates that, as the baker was on friendly terms with the soldiers of his regiment, in which were some men called John (Juan) the latter ordered a pie from the baker, and invited him to come and celebrate their feast with them. The baker went, and on leaving the quarters of the soldiers he saw that it was raining very hard. He asked the witness to lend him a coat, and the latter borrowed that of his sergeant, who ordered him to accompany the baker to his house, so that he might bring back the coat. On arriving at the baker's house the soldier was invited to come in, and he found at the baker's several individuals. They all began to drink, and the baker, says the witness, became completely drunk, "enteramente borracho," and when he was asked for the sergeant's coat, he and his friends beat the soldier unmercifully. The latter to defend himself, gave a kick to the baker, who seized a knife and pursued him into the street.

The knife was duly identified by all the witnesses, and the testimony of every one was very damaging to the enraged and drunken "panadero." We are sorry that the judgment of Lieut. Gov. Vidal is not recorded. It is very likely that the soldiers of the Regiment of Mexico never ate any more pie with their friend, the baker.

I shall now close this article with a few lines taken from a petition dated October 1, 1768. A merchant named the *Sieur Monsanto*, claiming a large sum of money from a lady, the latter says that her deceased husband compelled her, in 1763, to sign an act by which he admitted a debt of 25,000 *livres* in paper money of the colony, in exchange for 12,500 *livres* in coin. She says that the *livre* in paper at that time was worth only one-fourth of a *livre* in coin, and that as the creditor has already received 7500 *livres* in coin, an amount equal to 30,000 *livres* in paper, she begs the Superior Council to release her from her obligation, and adds that she has nothing but her life and her tears, weak resources which all women have.

The decision of the council is not given, but I have no doubt that they were touched by the weakness and tears of the petitioner, who does not seem to have foreseen the era of woman's rights.

III.

In my last article I related how the slave Bautista was not able to obtain his freedom, in spite of the equity and impartiality of the judge. I shall now explain how Louison became free.

On April 30, 1770, the Sieur Pierre Clermont appeared before the notary of the Cabildo and declared that he has had for a long time in his service an Indian named Louison, of the nation of the "Sious." The latter has served him with so much attachment and zeal that he desires to reward him, and believes that the best way to do so is to give him his freedom. As, however, he has an indispensable need of the Indian for three year's longer, and he fears that he might be prevented by death from liberating him, he states it is his wish that in three years Louison be set free and enjoy all the rights of freedom.

Louison, in his turn, states that he thanks the Sieur Clermont, and promises to serve him faithfully for three years. He also says that he agrees to lose all rights given him by his master if he should prove ungrateful to him.

This is certainly a curious contract, and poor Louison must have been very unhappy during his three years of trial, with the ingratitude clause hanging over his head like a Damocles' sword. I have no doubt, however, that his rights were protected by the officers of justice, and that the master was not allowed to be sole judge of what constitutes ingratitude.

The fact of an indian of the Sioux tribe being a slave in New Orleans in 1770 is strange, and the name of the savage, Louison, is stranger still. It must have been very humiliating to an Indian brave to change his own proud name to that of a woman. Imagine Cæsar called Julia!

Everything concerning the settlement of the Acadians in Louisiana is interesting, and I was therefore well pleased to find a paper dated April 4, 1765, in which we see a contract

between Antoine Bernard Dauterive, former captain of infantry, and Joseph Broussard, dit Beausoleil, Alexandre Broussard, Joseph Guillebau, Jean Duga, Olivier Tibaudau, Jean Baptiste Broussard, Pierre Arcenau and Victor Broussard, chiefs of the Acadians.

Captain Dauterive promises to furnish each Acadian family with five cows with their calves and one bull, for six consecutive years, and he will run the risk of the loss of the cattle only the first year. As soon as he shall be notified of a loss he will immediately replace the animal by another one of the same kind, without holding the Acadians responsible for losses by death during the first year. He reserves the right to rescind the contract after three years and to take back his cattle, all increase being divided equally between him and them. The Acadians may sell some of the cattle before the expiration of the contract, provided they give him half the price of the sale. At the end of the six years they must give back to M. Dauterive the same number of cattle that they received from him, and of the same age and kind as when received. All increase and profits to be equally divided between M. Dauterive and the Acadians. The chiefs of the latter bind themselves and "colleagues" in solido and mortgage all their property, and so does M. Dauterive.

The contract is signed before Garie, notary, in the presence of Aubry, acting Governor of the colony; Foucault, ordonnateur; Lafrénière, Attorney General, and Mazange and Couturier.

It is not stated where the Acadians were to go after leaving New Orleans, but some of their chiefs certainly went to the Attakapas country, for in the church register of St. Martinsville I found the certificate of birth of a daughter of Olivier Tibaudau, born on the 10th of May, 1765, as I have already stated, the first child born in Louisiana of Acadian parents.

The contract proves that the Acadians were well received in the province, for in the agreement with M. Dauterive all the advantages were on their side. For the first year they were protected against the loss of their cattle and they were

to receive half the profits. As to the mortgage on the property they had far less to lose than M. Dauterive, who must have been wealthy, while they are represented as having come to Louisiana in great distress.

The contract between M. Dauterive and the chiefs of the Acadians is an important document, as it proves that the help given to the Acadians came from individuals and not from the government. The latter, however, seemed to assume the responsibility of the agreement, as the paper was signed by the first officials of the province. The Acadians, doubtless, received their lands free from the government.

Father Dagobert's name is so well known in Louisiana and connected with so many legends and poems that it is interesting to reproduce the official account of his taking possession of his pastoral office on the 7th of October, 1764.

Garie, royal notary of the Province of Louisiana, and chief clerk of the Superior Council, certifies that the Rev. Father Dagobert de Longory, former superior of the Capuchin missionaries from Champagne, has presented a commission from Rev. Father Hilaire de Geneveaux, which gives to Father Dagobert possession, collation and charge, as curate of the parochial church of Saint Louis, in New Orleans, with all rights and privileges. The said commission given by Rev. Father Hilaire de Geneveaux, as superior of the missions of Louisiana, has been ordered registered by the Superior Council and recognized, and, therefore, the clerk of the Council went to the Cathedral at 8 o'clock in the morning, when the curate was to take possession of the church. The persons present were Lafrénière, Duclos, Assistant Attorney General; Cantrelle and Jacquelin, church wardens; Dreux, Huchet de Kernion, LeBreton, Aubry and other notable inhabitants of the province.

The clerk read Father Dagobert's commission and the decree of the Council, and then Father Eustache, former curate, put his successor in possession of his office. The ceremonies were: Putting on the stole, taking holy water, prayers before the principal altar, visiting the pulpit and the baptismal founts, ringing of the bells, standing at the place where the curate is to officiate at the altar, and other formalities required.

The clerk then proclaimed in a loud and intelligible voice that Father Dagobert had taken possession of his office, and, no one protesting, immediately the Te Deum was sung and the act drawn up by Clerk Garie was signed by all present.

I shall now pass to the year 1796 and give an account of a petition addressed to Gov. Carondelet by the inhabitants of St. James parish, district of Cabaha-nocé. It appears that the parish priest, Father de Azuquequa, having died, the court ordered the servant at the parsonage to be sold and the price paid to Father Mangan, successor to Father de Azuquequa. The inhabitants of the parish protest against the judgment and appeal to the Governor. Their petition is interesting, and is better written than most documents of that time. It is drawn up in French, in what seems to be the handwriting of Michel Cantrelle, commandant of the parish, and then admirably translated into Spanish by Juan Josef Duforest.

The petitioners state that it is well known that since their arrival in this country they have built at their own expense a church for divine service; that they have kept it in as good condition as they could; that they have always given good lodging to the priest; that they have bought, with the consent of Bishop Cyrille, of Barcelona, servants for the use of the priest and themselves. The slaves are to serve them during Lent and at other times when, the distance being too great, they are not able to return home without eating something. The servants are also to provide them with water to drink on Sundays. Why should they be deprived of that convenience which costs nothing to any one except to them? It is said to be against the regulations of the church, but they are utterly ignorant of such regulations. They state that they ask for no favor, but simply claim justice, and request that not a cent (denier) be taken from the succession of Father de Azuquequa before their rights are determined.

"In short," they say, "in order to prove to the universe that we are not looking for quarrels or quibbles, we ask no other judges but your Excellency and Monseigneur the Bishop, having full confidence in your equity and impartiality. As Vice-Patron royal, we dare hope that you will re-

ceive favorably our demand, which has no other aim but to end an unpleasant suit which deprives us of the tranquility which has always reigned in this parish, and which prevents us from contributing as generously as we should like to the care of the church. In order that you may be informed perfectly of our reasons, we shall name, to explain them, if you judge proper, two old inhabitants of the parish, to whom will be added our commandant, Don Miguel Cantrelle, who knows better than any one what concerns our fabric."

The petition is signed by many inhabitants whose descendants still live in St. James parish, such as Bourgeois, Brau, LeBlanc, Bergeron, Gaudin, Poirier, Arcenaux, Gauthero and Armant.

The name Cabaha-nocé, which was said to mean "the ducks' sleeping place," was given by Gov. Roman to his plantation, and should have been preserved in St. James parish. We should at least respect the Indian names, which remind us of the aborigines and their legends.

IV.

Bienville, the founder of New Orleans, the father of the colony, asked to be relieved of his office of Governor after his unfortunate war with the Chickasaws, and returned to France in 1743. His successor was the Marquis de Vaudreuil, who was appointed Governor of Louisiana in 1741. In 1753 he was appointed Governor of Canada, and left Louisiana, where he was known as the "grand marquis." It was during his administration that took place the event which I desire to relate. It reveals a curious phase of the life of our ancestors of the eighteenth century, and shows that, however peculiar some of their ideas may appear to us, they were always actuated by feelings of honor and justice.

On the 18th of April, 1752, Raguet, member of the Superior Council, states that he has made an "information," at the request of the Attorney General, Fleuriau, plaintiff, and accuser of the memory of a soldier named André Servinien, dit La Rochelle, accused of having "homicided" and de-

stroyed himself by a gunshot in the head, said "information" being of his life and morals as well as of his homicide.

Joseph Odoj, soldier of the company of Benoist, in garrison in this town, swears that he is neither a relative nor a servant of the accused, and testifies that La Rochelle, a soldier of his company and of his mess, killed himself with his gun yesterday morning, between 8 and 9 o'clock. Witness had gone to the river to get some water, and on returning found La Rochelle dead. One hour before this, the said La Rochelle had taken a knife, saying that he wished to destroy himself, and every day, as soon as he had taken a drink, he became terribly angry, and in his great furies he even threatened to kill his father, and his comrades had to prevent him from killing himself. Witness was never on intimate terms with him on account of his violence and bad temper, and it is possible that sometimes his mind wandered (*fut écarté*).

Jean Louis Rabido, soldier of the same company, testifies that La Rochelle had extraordinary fits of anger and fury, taking a knife to cut his stomach and making blood flow, cursing and abusing the name of God, acting in a way to make witness shudder, and saying that he would never pardon his father. Witness believes that when La Rochelle had taken some drinks (*quelques filets*) his mind wandered.

Pierre Filcher and André Desjardins, soldiers, make the same statements as the preceding witnesses. They believe that La Rochelle's mind was alienated, and they state that, while at the canteen, he went from table to table, taking the bottles and drinking like a madman.

Or April 19, 1752, the Attorney General appears before Commissioner Raguet and states that he has just heard that the body of André Servinien, dit La Rochelle, against whose memory and corpse he was prosecuting this criminal suit, has been taken away from the cabin in the hospital of the King, where it had been deposited. Thereupon, M. Raguet and the Attorney General went to the hospital, questioned two students in medicine, Chastang and Dupont, and also the two Ursuline nuns in charge of the hospital, but could obtain no information concerning the soldier's body. The nuns stated

that they passed the night at their monastery, and only heard, between 4 and 5 o'clock, that the body had been taken away; it must have been done during the great thunderstorm during the night.

On the same day, April 19, Raguet states that as Servinien, "homicided," has no relatives in this colony, he has named curator to his memory, Pierre Cecile, who, being duly notified, has accepted the office and sworn to defend faithfully the memory of Servinien.

On April 20 the witnesses, Odo, Rabido, Fileher and Desjardins, were brought before M. Raguet, and their testimony given on April 18 was read to them and duly approved by them.

On April 20, Pierre Cecile, curator, appeared before the commissioner and was asked all kinds of questions about Servinien, dit La Rochelle. He related the facts already given by the witnesses, soldiers in Servinien's company, and being asked if he had anything to say in favor of the memory of Servinien, he replied that the latter had the mind of a madman and that there was more madness in him than despair.

On April 21, all the witnesses were again brought before the commissioner and examined by the curator, and they all gave the same testimony as before. Here ended the labors of Commissioner Raguet, and the suit was carried for judgment before the Superior Council itself, presided over by the Governor.

On May 6, Curator Cecile appeared before the council and he stated again the same facts and offered the same defence as before M. Raguet. Therefore the council rendered the following decision:

Whereas, it appears that André Servinien, dit La Rochelle, was not in his proper senses and his mind was alienated and attacked with fury, it is resolved that his memory be discharged of the accusation brought against it. Signed by Vaudreuil, Governor; Michel, Ordonnateur; D'Auberville, Commissioner of Marine, and Raguet, De Lallande, Huchet de Kernion, Le Bretton, members of the council.

I give full details about this case on account of the importance which was attached to it at the time, and as I consider it exceedingly interesting and curious.

The best way to understand the ideas and customs of the men of past generations is to reproduce their own words, and I shall give here extracts from a petition of the *Sieur Lebeau*, "*médecin du roi*," addressed to the Superior Council in April, 1769.

It seems that *M. Sorel* requested his friend, *Dr. Lebeau*, to endeavor to find and return to him a pirogue which was stolen from him. *Dr. Lebeau* found a pirogue which agreed with the description given of his by *M. Sorel*, and obtained from *Foucault*, *ordonnateur* and first judge of the council, that experts be named to decide whether the pirogue was *M. Sorel's* or not. The experts, after examining carefully the pirogue, or "*voiture*," decided that it agreed with the description given by *M. Sorel*, and *Dr. Lebeau* thought that he had obtained possession of his friend's property. Now, the *Sieur Saligny*, from "*la Côte des Allemands*," intervened and claimed the pirogue as his. In his petition he speaks harshly of *Dr. Lebeau*, and claims not only the pirogue, but damages and two days' pay for three Germans who had come with him to identify his property. It is to *Saligny's* petition that *Dr. Lebeau* replies.

He states that the experts have examined the pirogue, have measured it, have found a hole made by a knot in the wood and closed by a plank, and now it is said that the hole was closed by a plug.

"A plug is not nailed; it is a cylindrical body, whose base is about equal to the point, and the piece of wood which closes the hole is three inches in diameter and two in depth; therefore, it is not a plug. Is the *Sieur Sorel* in default for not having made a geometrical plan of the object?"

"One of my negroes testified that in *M. Sorel's* pirogue there were one hundred pegs to close small holes, and in the pirogue in dispute two hundred. Now, that negro can not count further than twenty. The story of this pirogue is a strange incident, for it would require all the pirogues in the universe to find two so exactly alike as this one and *M. Sorel's*.

"Men are all under the protection of the laws, but especially honest people, whose labor is useful to society, and not people

whose occupation is to the detriment of society, like these coast runners ("*coureurs de côte*"), who, under pretext of bringing merchandise, carry disorder and death on the plantations by selling rum (*tafia*) there. The police of a country should see, not only that there should be no useless members of society, but also should remove the vicious members. We must therefore know who are Saligny and his associate. Where do they come from? How are they here? Are they not amphibious, sometimes Englishmen, sometimes Frenchmen? Does their labor contribute to the welfare of humanity?

"The perpetual thefts of pirogues ("*voitures*"), are the work of the coast runners, deserters. If the want of evident proof always protects them, there is nothing which they will not attempt to do. Presumption of guilt should always be against people who have an illicit commerce, and who labor to foment vice."

Dr. Lebeau's petition is energetic and fearless, and gives a good idea of the customs of the time. The word vehicle or carriage (*voiture*), used for pirogue, shows that in the year 1769 our fathers lived on the banks of the rivers and bayous, and used principally their pirogues as means of transportation.

The following letter was read before the Louisiana Historical Society by Judge Thos. J. Semmes:

A REMARKABLE RELIC OF THE CONFEDERACY.

Mr. Semmes prefaced his reading by saying that this letter had been called forth by some remarks he had made in a speech delivered in Mobile a short time previous. In August, 1864, the Democratic Convention at Chicago had put in nomination for the presidency General Geo. B. McClellan upon a platform denouncing the usurpations of the Lincoln administration, opposing the policy of subjugating the Southern States, declaring the war to be a failure in preserving the union of the States as it was established under the Constitution, and inviting a grand convention of all the States for a proper adjustment of the relations between them.

In his speech at Mobile, Judge Semmes said he had criticised this mode of making peace, as he was of the opinion that such a course would be an invasion of the Constitution of the Confederate States. He had evidently misunderstood the position of Mr. Stephens, and the letter was written in the nature of an explanation.

MR. STEPHENS' LETTER.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, Ga., November 5, 1864.

I have just received a report of your speech at Mobile. From that report I am persuaded that you are greatly mistaken as to my views upon the subject of a convention of the States, and I trust you will excuse and pardon me for this letter upon that subject. I have by no means invited such a convention by anything that I have said or written upon the subject.

It is not at all a favorite idea with me as a mode of inaugurating suggestions of peace. I see many difficulties attending it. But as so respectable a body as the Chicago convention, representing so large a portion of the enemy, had pledged themselves, if brought into power, to tender such a proposition, I did think, and do still think, that it was highly politic and wise on our part to respond favorably to that proposition, inasmuch as I saw no insuperable objections to it, with the limitations and restrictions stated in my letter. Indeed, with those limitations, I saw no objection at all, under present circumstances, to acceding to such a proposition (if it should be made), as the initiation of negotiations. It would be the first step, and in all such cases the first step is often the most difficult. If the Federal government should propose to ours a convention of the States, I do not see why it might not be accepted simply as an advisory body, as I suggested. I see no constitutional difficulties in the way. The treaty-making power in both governments is ample to provide for it. The treaty-making power on both sides might agree to submit the question at issue to the consideration of any body of men on earth if they chose, and hear the report

without any pledge in advance to be bound by that report. In personal quarrels such submission is often made, and to the honor of humanity it may be said that in most cases of this kind the result is an amicable and honorable settlement. Whether such would be the result of a convention of the States in our case is, of course, uncertain—the probabilities, I am free to say, are, in my judgment, that it would. At any rate, there is a possibility that it might.

When we look at the elements of such a body, if it should be tendered on the other side, and adopted on ours, and the true nature of the controversy, I am not without strong hopes that it would so result. There is no prospect of such a proposition being tendered, unless McClellan should be elected. He could not be elected without carrying a sufficient number of States, which, if united with those of the Confederacy, would make a majority of the States.

In such a convention then, so formed, have we not strong reasons to hope and expect that a resolution could be passed denying the constitutional power of the government under the compact of 1787 to coerce a State, and the Chicago platform virtually does this already. Would not such a convention probably reaffirm the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799? Are there not strong reasons, at least, to induce us to hope and believe that they might? If ever that could be done it would end the war.

It would recognize as the fundamental principle of American institutions the ultimate, absolute sovereignty of the States. This partly covers our independence as fully as I wish ever to see it covered. I wish no other kind of recognition, whenever it comes, than that of George III of England, viz.: the recognition of the sovereignty and independence of each State separately and by name.

Our confederation was formed by sovereign and independent States. It was formed for the defence and maintenance of the sovereignty of each. We have unity of name and unity of action, simply because the cause of each has become the cause of all. If then, the majority of all the States should in solemn convention settle this great principle would it not

virtually settle the controversy and end the war, covering everything for which we are contending? Would not the terms of a final treaty of peace be easily adjusted after the settlement of this great principle? And, are there not sufficient reasons to hope that such might be the result in case a convention should be proposed, as I have stated, and accepted as a mode of inaugurating negotiations of peace, to justify our making a favorable response to the tender of it by the party at Chicago, in case they should be brought into power? To my mind it seems clear that there are. You will also allow me to say that I look upon the election of McClellan as a matter of vast importance to us, in every possible view of the case; and hence I thought it judicious, patriotic and wise to do everything that could be properly done, to aid his election. Whatever may be his individual opinion, he is the candidate of the State rights party at the North, in opposition to the centralists and consolidationists, whose hobby now is abolition.

I have thought from the beginning that our true policy was to build up and strengthen such a party at the North, by all the means in our power, not only upon the wise maxim of Philip of Macedon, to divide the enemy as a question of policy merely, but for a higher and much nobler motive; not only an early peace, but our future safety, security and happiness required it. The people of the North are obliged to be our neighbors, it matters not how this war may terminate. They are alongside of us, and must, with the generations after them, there remain forever.

It is of the utmost importance to us and our posterity that they should be good neighbors, whatever be the relations existing between them and us. To be good neighbors they must have a good government. It is almost as vital to us that they have a good government as that we have such ourselves. It is much better to govern by ideas than the sword. If this war shall result in the establishment permanently of the fundamental principle lying at the foundation of American constitutional liberty, that is the absolute ultimate sovereignty of the States, it will more than compensate for all its sacrifices of blood and treasure, great as they have been or may be.

It will secure peace on the continent for ages to come. We, therefore, have a great interest in fostering, cherishing, strengthening and building up and raising to power at the North, any party favoring these principles. If the proper kind of policy had been pursued by our authorities toward that element of popular sentiment at the North from the beginning, I believe the States rights party would have been triumphant at the approaching election. I believe an out and out States rights man might and would have been nominated at Chicago and elected, but the policy of our authorities seems to me, as far as I can judge of it, to have been directed with a view to wreck, cripple and annihilate that party. So far from acting ever upon the policy of dividing the enemy, their policy, their object, seems to have been to unite and inflame them. I do, moreover, verily believe that if President Davis, even after McClellan's nomination, had made a favorable response to the Chicago resolution, looking to convention of the States, as a mode of inaugurating negotiations of peace, that it would greatly have aided his election. It might have secured it. All that he need have said in some public manner was that if such proposition should be tendered by the federal government he would accede to it, with some such limitations and restrictions as stated by me in the letter before alluded to. The idea that this could not be constitutionally done is strange to me. In the most objectionable view of the subject, delegates, one or more, from each State, would be but commissioners or plenipotentiaries from each governments respectively, to initiate negotiations, and their acts would be subject to the approval or disapproval of their governments respectively. Why commissioners could not be appointed in this way, as well as any other, without any violation of the Constitution, I do not see. The treaty-making power in both governments is ample for this purpose, at least it seems so to me. Indeed, as I have said before, it is ample on both sides to submit the question in issue to the consideration merely of anybody on earth. But enough of this. Should McClellan be elected, despite of all the disadvantages against which his friends support him, as I

earnestly hope he may (though I see but little prospect or chance for him now), this question of a convention of the States may become a great question, otherwise it will more probably pass away, as thousands of other daily shadows do, indicating nothing to the most careful observers but the transient, though real substances to which they owe their origin.

I know there are many persons among us whose opinions are entitled to high consideration who do not agree with me on the question of McClellan's election. They prefer Lincoln to McClellan. Perhaps the president belongs to that class. Judging from his acts, I should think he did. Those of the class to whom I refer, with whom I have met, think that if what they term a co-operative man should be elected, or any on the Chicago platform even, that such terms for a restoration of the Union would be offered as our people would accept. The ghost of the Union haunts them—the spectre of reconstruction rears his ghastly head at every corner to their imagination. Their apprehensions I doubt not are sincere, but I entertain none such myself. I am no believer in ghosts of any kind. The old Union and the old Constitution are both dead; dead forever, except in so far as the Constitution has been preserved by us. There is for the Union no resurrection by any power short of that which brought Lazarus from the tomb. There may be, and doubtless are, many at the North, and some at the South, who look forward to a restoration of the Union and the Constitution as it was, but such ideas are as vain and illusory as the dreamy imaginations of the Indian warrior who in death clings to his weapons in fond expectation that he will have use for them beyond the grave, in other worlds and new hunting grounds. These fears of voluntary reconstruction are but chimeras of the brain. No one need entertain any such from McClellan's election; but, on the contrary, I think that peace, and peace upon the basis of a separation of the States and of independence would be the almost certain ultimate result if our authorities should act wisely in the event of his election. My reasons for this opinion are briefly these: A proposition for an armistice and a convention of the States might be expected from him soon

after his induction into office—this on our side being acceded to, as it ought to be, some time would elapse before the conferees could meet, the passions of the day on both sides would considerably subside in the interim—the convention might adopt such a resolution as I have stated; looking to its probable composition as before stated, there is strong probability that it would. That, as before stated, would end the matter, and to our entire satisfaction. But, take the worst possible view of it: Suppose that they should wrangle and do nothing and adjourn, and that no other mode of settlement by negotiations should be proposed, how would matters then stand? McClellan would doubtless, as his letter of acceptance indicates he would do, renew the war for the restoration of the Union and the old Constitution with all its guarantees. The moment he should do this, the whole abolition element at the North, now the life and soul of the war, would turn against it; the old Union with the old Constitution is just what they do not want. They have always regarded it as no better than a “league with Satan and a covenant with hell.”

The right arm of the war spirit at the North will be paralyzed the moment the war is put on that footing. Besides this, at least two-thirds of McClellan's own party manfully hold and proclaim the doctrine that there is no power in the central government constitutionally to coerce a State. These two elements would constitute an overwhelming majority at the North, decidedly against the further prosecution of the war. Meanwhile financial embarrassments would be doing their work, the war would inevitably fail in consequence. When all efforts to persuade our people to go back into the Union voluntarily failed, as they would, if our authorities shall so act as to secure the hearts and affections of the people, as they ought, then McClellan would ultimately be compelled to give up the restoration of the Union as a forlorn hope. Peace would come slowly, but surely upon our own terms, and without any more fighting. But this is not all; other causes would operate to the same result, which of themselves, even without consideration of those above stated,

would effect the same thing. The moment McClellan should renew the war, with the avowed object of restoring the Union with the old Constitution and all its guarantees, that moment, or as soon as possible, our recognition abroad would come. The silent sympathy of England, France and other European powers at present with Lincoln arises entirely from their mania on the subject of negro slavery. My opinion is that Lincoln's emancipation proclamation was dictated by England. Her ministry told him, in almost so many words, after the battles of Richmond in 1862, that if he continued to wage war for no purpose but to bring into subjection the refractory Southern States, which were of right just as free and independent as the Northern States, that they would recognize the Confederacy. But if he would make it an abolition war, if he would wage it, in their canting phrase, for the purpose of disenthraling four millions of human beings, groaning under the yoke of slavery, that would have in it an object looking to the advancement of civilization and Christianity worthy of the nineteenth century, and if he would do that they and other European powers would stand aloof. Lincoln had either to witness our recognition abroad, the moral power of which alone he saw would break down the war, or to make it an emancipation war. He chose the latter alternative, and the more readily because it chimed in so accordantly with the feelings and views of his own party. This, in my opinion, is the plain English of this whole matter; and just as soon as McClellan should renew the war with a view to restore the Union, the old Constitution, with slavery, etc., would England, France and other European powers throw all their moral power and influence of their recognition on our side. I am not certain that they would not go further rather than see the Union thus restored, if it should become necessary. The other causes alluded to would completely effect our deliverance without any material aid from them. So, in any and every view I can take of the subject, I regard the election of McClellan and the success of the States rights party at the North, whose nominee he is, of the utmost importance to us. With these views you will readily perceive how I regarded

the action of the Chicago convention, "as a ray of light, the first ray of real light," I have seen from the North since the war began.

You can also, from these views, more correctly appreciate my motive for giving what I considered a favorable response to that action.

I bespeak your careful attention to the language of that response. From the report of your speech I am led to infer that you entertain the opinion that I was favoring or inviting a convention of the States in some outside way, and not through the organized channels of the two governments. No such idea was in my mind, and never can be until I am prepared for another revolution. For the States could not go into such a convention, as you seem, from the report of your speech, to think I favored, without first seceding from their present alliance. This, to my mind, is as clear as it is to yours. Of course, what I said had to be brief, covering general points. I could not go into a full explanation of my reasons for what I said, because that would have done damage, instead of good, to the cause which I wished to aid. I know many of our people think that any allusion to peace on our side, or any public expression of or desire for peace, or the offer of terms upon which we ought to be willing to make peace, is injurious to our cause. That it has had effect upon our armies, and encourages the enemy to fight on under the belief that such declarations indicate a disposition to yield on our part. Some go so far as to maintain that we can not, consistently with our purpose to secure independence at all hazards, entertain even any proposition for negotiations, unless they be based upon our independence, or unless this be promised and granted in the offer. I concur in none of this reasoning. Nothing would give us more strength at home or abroad, with our armies and the world, than to keep constantly before the public what we are fighting for, and the terms upon which the contest forced upon us may be ended. The right is with us. The right always has of itself great moral power if properly used and wielded. This depends upon what may be styled diplomacy. Diplomacy does not

necessarily involve interchange of views or intercourse between parties. It should not be neglected in wars, even though the enemy should refuse to receive any communication. The result of most wars depends as much upon diplomatic skill, in its proper sense, as it does upon arms. The real statesman knows when and how to use the pen as well as the sword. The constant proclamation to the world of what we are fighting for can never weaken our cause with those who are periling their lives in that cause, especially if all our acts toward them, and all others, show that our professions are true.

Nor is there the slightest inconsistency, in my opinion, between the most fixed determination on our part to end the war upon no terms short of independence, and at the same time entertaining, hearing and accepting offers to negotiate upon any other basis whatever. The doors to treat, to negotiate, to confer, to reason, should always be kept widely open. Those who have the right on their side should never shun or avoid reason. They should never decline an encounter on that arena. I have been led to these remarks more with a view to self-vindication than to the expression or utterance of any unrecognized truths. Because of my letter, saying I would be willing to accede to an offer, if made by the Federal government to a convention of the States, as an advisory body, to consider of the questions in issue, and see if they could agree upon some plan of settlement that would be acceptable to both sides and all parties, I have been classed by some among the despondents and reconstructionists. Upon the question of despondency I can assure you I am not one whit more so than I was near three years ago, when our present policy was inaugurated. Whatever reverses we have had since then, they are no worse than I expected, and not half so bad as I still expect to see, should Lincoln be elected and our past policy be continued. I am not a whit more despondent in beholding them than I was in the confident expectation of them. I then thought, and now think, that it was and is with us, under the line of policy pursued, simply a question of how much quackery we had, and have strength of consti-

tution to bear and still survive. I know we have a great deal ; still we are far, very far, from being exhausted yet. It is true, our tendency has been and still is to that result, but no vital part has yet given way, and nothing has occurred to extinguish the hope and belief that a reaction will take place under some change of prescription before a fatal collapse takes place. I speak to you plainly. Bad as is the present state of affairs in the opinion of many who themselves all look upon the war as near its close with independence achieved, is no worse than I have thought it probably would be, and not half so bad as I am prepared to see it before it is any better. But this view of the case does not lessen my ardor in the cause in the slightest degree. On the question of reconstruction I stand now just where I did in October, 1861, when I wrote to a gentleman, in answer to a letter from him, stating that I was charged with such sentiments, and desiring me to give a public denial of it. I told him, in reply, that I looked upon such "a charge as no less an imputation upon my intelligence than upon my integrity." The issue of this war, in my judgment, was subjugation or independence ; I so understood it when the State of Georgia seceded, and it was with a full consciousness of this fact, with all its responsibilities, sacrifices and perils, that I pledged myself then and there to stand by her and her fortunes, whatever they might be, in the course she had adopted. As for making any public denial of such a charge I felt too much self-respect to do it.

Having been so frank with you, I will go a step further. While I do not believe in ghosts and have no apprehension whatever of a voluntary restoration of the Union on the part of our people, I do have apprehensions, and serious apprehensions, of imminent danger in another quarter. I greatly fear, if Lincoln is re-elected, and our authorities continue on the same line of policy, holding out to the people no prospect of peace but by the sword, and extending the military power to the almost entire subversion of the civil, subsisting the armies by impressments, affording little or no protection to the rights of persons or property, on this line, I say I fear the

people in an evil hour may give up all as lost, and come to the conclusion that they may as well live under one despotism as another, and in such evil hour submit to even such terms of subjugation and degradation as Lincoln may offer. These are my apprehensions. If there be dangers on our side there are equal dangers on the other. Wise men should guard against them wherever they may be.

I wish I could have seen you as you passed through this State. I should like to talk over these and many kindred matters with you. I did expect to have been on the road to Richmond by this time, but circumstances beyond my control have prevented. I hope to be able to go on at an early day. I send this letter, however, that you may be more correctly informed of my views than I think you are, in case I should be detained here longer than I expect to be. My health is far from being good, though it is much better than it was last fall and winter. How about living this session? Do you still retain your house, and can you spare me quarters when I come on? If so, upon what terms? Please write me immediately. I may get the answer before I start. If I leave before it reaches here, all that will be lost will be the paper, postage stamp and a moment's labor in writing on your part; this would not be much. I should like very much to know how I am to be settled in Richmond before arriving there. If Mrs. Semmes is with you please present my kind regards to her.

Yours truly,

ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS.

Hon. Thos. J. Semmes, S. C. Senate, Richmond, Va.

P. S.—It is but proper that I should add, even by postscript to this letter, long as it is, that I was highly pleased with the general character and tone of your speech in Mobile, as reported. It was well calculated to do much good, and I doubt not it will.

A. H. S.

SOME OF THE CAUSES AND CONDITIONS THAT
BROUGHT ABOUT THE WEST FLORIDA
REVOLUTION IN 1810.

By HENRY L. FAVROT.

To make perfectly clear to every one, even to those intimately versed in the history of the period, the exact nature of the more immediate causes which provoked the final declaration of West Floridian independence, it will be necessary to summarize a few of the conditions precedent which created a possibility for this action. I shall be pardoned, therefore, for the terse review of reasons why West Florida did not become a part of the American Union along with the rest of Louisiana.

If the treaties of 1763-4 divested France of a territory which she unquestionably held, it would seem very clear that the treaty of 1800 vested her with full control of that which it was possible to confer. If France was vested with authority, of whatever kind, to sell any portion of Louisiana, she was certainly vested with complete authority to sell the whole, and that whole, not such as she had ceded it to Spain, and as it was construed by Spain, but "*such as she, France, had possessed, and such as it should be, in accordance with treaties passed subsequently between Spain and any other States.*" It, therefore, must seem that these were not useless words incorporated in the treaty of St. Ildephonso, and as the only treaty with any other State must be that with Great Britain, we must understand that such part of Louisiana as was acquired by Spain from Great Britain was transferred to France by Spain, to make Louisiana, *such as she, France, had possessed it, and such as it should be, in accordance with treaties subsequently passed between Spain and any other States.*

Mr. Talleyrand to the contrary notwithstanding, this was certainly made very clear to the United States, which acquired and accepted title under the exact wording of the St. Ildephonso treaty. When, therefore, Governor Claiborne, of Mississippi, and General Wilkinson, the immaculate accuser

of Aaron Burr, came down and actually took possession of Louisiana in the latter part of the year 1803, it was to the great disgust of many that they refrained from planting the American standard at Baton Rouge, and the reason of this is to be found in the fact that the Spanish governor refused to deliver any more to Laussat than France had originally ceded to Spain. The subject was, therefore, referred to the diplomats of the respective countries. In the territory under dispute, which was inhabited largely by irresponsible woodsmen, who were generally ready to follow the opinions of a better and more educated element, opinion seemed very equally balanced.

When it is said that they were irresponsible, we must not be understood in too harsh a sense, for their semi-civilized condition was rather their misfortune than their fault. There was in the district, however, from the Perdido to Baton Rouge, a large number of the inhabitants who were American in sentiment and American by birth; a number who, in 1779, had organized to join the Spanish forces in the overthrow of British authority; a number who considered that they should have obtained their absolute freedom along with the thirteen colonies, and who boldly declared that they formed the fourteenth of American free States; a number who, apart from any other feelings, chafed under monarchical rule, and a larger number, and the more intelligent, who for years had been satisfied and were willing to let well enough alone. Such a heterogeneous mass of sentiment was certainly not easy to govern, not easy to control, and still less easy to properly police over an extended wilderness. Definitely fixed in their ideas of allegiance, with no other idea than a performance of duty to their king, the military and civil authority was represented entirely by French and Spanish descendants, and was aided by the wealthier of the English speaking contingent, who controlled not only large properties, but almost a feudal tenantry.

Across the line in Mississippi there was an element exclusively American in feeling, who were a continual source of annoyance to their monarchical neighbors, and who too often designated them as slaves to a European king.

Spain had scarcely more than established her authority over the territory, and successively put in charge of it Casa Calvo and de Lemos, when she became engaged in a controversy which resulted in establishing Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne.

Before the consummation of this, however, the governorship of the disputed territory changed hands, and Governor Folch, under the title of Governor-General of the whole province, exercised his jurisdiction at Pensacola, while the immediate civil and military Governor at Baton Rouge was Don Carlos Dehault DeLassus. Before and after the accession of Joseph to the Spanish throne by means of the imperial order of his august brother, the Spanish possessions in America were neither thought of nor considered. The Spanish were too busy at home to think of Spaniards abroad, and it may be asserted with reasonable accuracy that at first Bonaparte did not recognize Spain as possessing any title to West Florida, but he seems afterward to have changed his mind, and begun to prepare to assert his rights in this country as Spanish arbiter.

We must now retrace our steps a few months, to be in full possession of all the conditions. It is clearly shown, by the various memorials presented to Congress, that the people of Mississippi, and in fact the whole western country, earnestly desired the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States, but they never had in contemplation any partial acquisition, such as might affect not only their rights of river navigation, but also the rights of inland commerce.

When, therefore, they realized that between them and New Orleans there was raised the barrier of a foreign power, they experienced much more uneasiness and disquietude than the inhabitants of the disputed territory themselves. One of the first causes of discord between the inhabitants of the two adjoining States was the same which nearly sixty years afterward plunged this Union in disastrous civil war. It called for legislation on the part of the territory of Orleans, and "*innocuous desuetude*" on the part of West Florida. It was a question of the capture and delivery of fugitive slaves.

Under the pretext, therefore, of searching for such fugi-

tives, many excursions were made from American into Spanish territory, thus inconsistently establishing a right which some years afterward provoked war with England. Despite the marked inaction of the authorities on the Spanish side, the inhabitants seemed remarkably temperate and patient, exhibiting forcibly a characteristic which stamps us of the present generation in New Orleans. There could be no international settlement of grievances for reasons too palpable to enumerate, chief among which was the claim made to the territory by the United States.

Governor DeLassus seems to have been rather vacillating in his policy, both at home and abroad, and there seemed but little possibility of enforcing what had become deficient laws. Smuggling was practised to an almost unlimited extent from the Spanish territory into the American dominion, and the slave trade found its greatest impetus through this section, while the authorities of Spain "winked the other eye," in dumb approval of this loose demoralizing condition.

There is no doubt that for some time the antagonisms between American and Spanish subjects were kept very much alive through the instrumentality of three celebrated giants of pioneer Mississippi, who were well known as the Kemper brothers. They were known to hate anything and everything belonging to Spain; they were implacable in hate; they had made many an aggressive excursion within the Spanish lines; had tried to capture Baton Rouge and fix on the crest of its hill an American standard. Through the influence of Governor Claiborne, however, the leaders were released by the Spanish authorities, but the Kempers were secretly at work despite the promises repeatedly made by them.

From 1804 to 1810 this condition of affairs existed with little or no interruption, yet aggravated at times by more glaring acts of lawlessness and disorder. The schemes and plots of Aaron Burr had a tendency to excite a people, the masses of whom were generally his sympathizers, and it can not be denied that there existed a fond hope that the western country would yet be a separate and independent republic.

The remoteness from a mother country, who, herself,

chafed under a tyrant's yoke, tended in no way to restore tranquillity in West Florida, or to aid in the enforcement and reform of laws. Trials by jury were unknown in the Spanish dominion, and the trusted servants of the judiciary found means to enrich themselves in office by illicit trade under cover of lawful authority. DeLassus seemed to grow weaker and more vacillating in all his administrative acts, as matters grew worse, and he materially undermined the force of his own authority, even with the military, by his constant fault-finding with his efficient, young and popular lieutenant, DeGrandpré.

Discord became rife on every hand. To cap the climax, Governor Folch went to Cuba, and nothing could be referred to higher authority than that of DeLassus.

Governor Claiborne, in various messages and reports, complains loudly of his neighbors to Congress, and to the President. In this condition, therefore, we find matters in July, 1810.

In this strait of affairs, a rumor was set afloat to which *some* credence must be given, that Bonaparte claimed West Florida and intended to exercise therein his jurisdiction. This seems to have been the straw that broke the camel's back, for immediately on the circulation of this remarkable information the citizens met in all the respective districts, at the request of the assembled citizens of Feliciana, and delegates were chosen to meet in general convention at Buhler's Plains. When news of these proceedings came to the ears of DeLassus, despite the contrary advice of his lieutenant, he showed an apparent acquiescence in the preliminaries.

Toward the people he seemed all graciousness and smiles; he quiescently allowed the election of delegates from the Baton Rouge precinct, and seemed suddenly interested in the new turn of proceedings.

On the 17th day of July, 1810, the convention met at Buhler's Plains, under the broad canopy of heaven, and in the shade of majestic trees, some of which stand there yet, moss-covered and gnarled with age. Of this convention, Jno. Mills was president and Dr. Steele secretary. I have au-

thentic copies of their proceedings, and find that they remained in session two days. The result of their arduous labors (for on the second day they were at work ten consecutive hours without eating) was an enumeration of all the ills which the country had suffered, and they finally reached a conclusion, but not without some wrangling. There was then and there a prevalent desire to pray for annexation to the American territory, and thus at a blow cure all the evils. Wiser counsel prevailed, and the preamble to the result of their labors sets forth: "When the sovereignty or independence of a nation has been destroyed by treachery or violence, the political ties which united its different members are destroyed. Distant provinces, no longer cherished or protected by the mother country, have a right to institute for themselves such forms of government as they think conducive to their safety and happiness. The lawful sovereign of Spain, together with his hereditary kingdom in Europe, having fallen under the dominion of a foreign tyrant by means of treachery and lawless power, right naturally devolves upon the people of the different provinces of that kingdom, placed by nature beyond the grasp of the usurper, to provide for their own security. The allegiance which they owed and preserved with so much fidelity to their lawful sovereign can never be transferred to the destroyer of their country's independence.

"We, therefore, the people of West Florida, exercising the rights which incontestibly devolve upon us, declare that we owe no allegiance to the present ruler of the French nation, or to any king, prince or sovereign, who may be placed by him on the throne of Spain, and we will always, and by all means in our power, resist any tyrannical usurpation over us of whatever kind, or by whomsoever the same may be attempted, and in order more effectually to preserve the domestic tranquillity and secure for ourselves the blessings of peace and the impartial administration of justice, we propose the following." Then comes a series of thirteen articles, which might be termed a projected constitution. A committee was appointed, composed of John Mills, T. H. Johnston, Philip Hickey, John W. Leonard, Jos. Thomas and Dr.

Steele, to prepare an address to the government, setting forth in full their grievances and the needs of their commonwealth. While at the outset there seemed much difference of opinion as regards the necessary step to be taken, it was with complete unanimity that the convention, before adjourning, swore fealty and allegiance to Ferdinand VII. The committee above referred to was enjoined to sit in continuous session until an understanding could be consummated with the Governor, and the convention adjourned their labors, subject to the call of that committee, by declaring in a resolution that they labor for a common cause, for the common good, and do not desire to be understood as doing aught that may be considered treasonable or unjust. The committee drafted the memorial or address to the Governor, and therein are emphasized the desirable reforms in the judiciary system.

The committee concludes by appointing another of three to wait upon the Governor with the memorial and the results of the labors of the convention, and to allow the Governor reasonable time to carefully digest its contents. They might then return to the sitting committee and report the result of their visit. A full report of their interview with the Governor was made to the sitting committee, and it proved eminently satisfactory to all parties, for they addressed him another memorial and entrusted its delivery to Leonard, Lopez, Thomas and Wm. Spiller. In this letter they reiterated to Colonel DeLassus their intention to remain true to Spain, and practically pledged him the Governorship or chief office under the new government. They wanted peace and the proper administration of justice, and informed his Excellency that the convention of delegates would meet in Baton Rouge on the 22d of August following. Their address closes by forcibly reminding his Excellency of the necessity for a strong militia, well organized, well equipped and well officered, to insure for the country a complete exemption from anarchy and tumult, and to lend force and dignity to their laws. The sitting committee further resolved that no member of the convention of August 22 should be elected to any office whatsoever by that convention.

The Convention met and adopted these ordinances herein incorporated, and behind closed doors nominated, as per agreement, Charles Dehault DeLassus commander-in-chief of militia and first judge, and as his associates, Shepard, Brown, Robert Percy and Fulwar Skipwith. They provided for three civil commanders, and elected Bryan McDermott for Bayou Sara, Gilbert Leonard for Baton Rouge and Daniel Raynor for St. Helena, with one for St. Ferdinand to be filled. Joseph E. Johnson was made high sheriff, Dr. Steele register of land claims, and, as militia officers, Philomen Thomas, colonel commanding all militia in district; Samuel Fulton, lieutenant colonel of regiment; Geo. Mather, Jr., first major; Reuben Curtis, second major, and Isaac Johnson, major of cavalry.

The Convention was presided over by John Rhea, and was composed of:

For the District of New Feliciana: John H. Johnson, John Mills, William Barrow.

For the District of St. Helena: John W. Leonard, Joseph Thomas, William Spiller, Benj. O. William.

For the District of Baton Rouge: Philip Hicky, Thomas Lilley, John Morgan, Edmund Hawes.

For the District of St. Ferdinand: William Cooper.
President: John Rhea.

Governor: Carlos Dehault DeLassus.

They held sessions on August 22, 23, 24 and 25, and finally, on the closing of their labors, issued the following proclamation:

"To the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of Baton Rouge:

"His Excellency Carlos Dehault DeLassus, Colonel of the Royal Armies and Governor Civil and Military of the Place and Jurisdiction of Baton Rouge, with the representatives of the people of the said jurisdiction, in convention assembled, announce:

"That the measures proposed to be adopted for the public safety and for the better administration of justice within the said jurisdiction, are sanctioned and established as ordi-

nances, to have the force and authority of law, within the several districts of this jurisdiction, until the same be submitted to the captain-general of the island of Cuba, and until his *decision thereon* shall be known. The said ordinances will be made known in each district with all possible dispatch, and in the meantime all the good people of this jurisdiction are required to preserve good order and avoid every movement which may disturb the public tranquillity—it being the only object of both the Governor and the representatives to consult the best interests of the inhabitants. And although it is not intended to mark with severity the authors of the disorder which has appeared in several parts of the country for some time past, yet all such persons as may be found offending in that manner, after this date, will be punished with the severity which the law prescribes and which their offences may deserve.

“BATON ROUGE, August 22, 1810.”

Signed by all the members of the convention, its president and Governor DeLassus. In the distribution of offices, it was considered that McDermott, Johnston, Curtis and Shepard Brown were chosen from the friends of the Governor, and no objections were made to any but Shepard Brown, to whom there seemed a marked antagonism.

It was near the 20th of September, 1810, before the faintest suspicion of treachery became manifest. Then Colonel Thomas, commanding the militia, considered it his duty to intercept what he declared to be a suspicious and too constant correspondence between DeLassus and Shepard Brown, and in this way it became known that DeLassus, through Brown was sending messages to Governor Folch, at Pensacola, that an armed force was necessary to quell an absolute insurrection of his Catholic majesty's subjects in the district of Baton Rouge, and further, that Folch should march immediately to his relief and send to Cuba for a large force, because their enemies were desperate and determined.

He further told his superior that he was deprived of all authority vested in him by the sovereign, and had been super-

seded by self-constituted officers, who, while they did not force him into durance vile, kept over his actions such close watchfulness that he found himself in constant fear of injury and harm, should he attempt any bold or independent measures; should he try to invoke his legal prerogatives.

When this was read to Colonel Thomas, for he could scarcely read, his bright intellect immediately grasped the whole situation, and he had the governor's messenger carefully guarded while he detailed a young sergeant under his command to spy the actions of Shepard Brown.

Going then immediately to Baton Rouge, on the evening of September 21, he called to a secret council Col. Fulton, Fulwar Skipwith, John Rhea, Philip Hicky, Isaac Johnson, Gilbert Leonard and Larry Moore. The result of their deliberations was the determination to declare the independence of West Florida, for they realized the futility of any attempt to continue in their allegiance to Spain, with DeLassus at their head, and there was no authority to depose him. His constant refusal to enforce some laws, his dilatoriness in other matters, had already opened his pretended sincerity to suspicion, and his present duplicity was magnified the more by circumstances. It was deemed advisable to take and hold the fort at Baton Rouge, and all then would be well. Trusty messengers were sent to Robert Percy, near Bayou Sara, and to St. Helena for Dan'l Raynor. The combined forces met Colonel Thomas on September 22, at 12 o'clock at night, and together they reached the fort in three separate columns at 3 o'clock in the morning. The struggle was short and decisive, and the fort surrendered.

BOOK REVIEWS.

'Colonie de la Louisiane, journal historique, contenant ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable au fort Louis, à la Nouvelle Orléans, et les nouvelles et avis qu'on a reçus des differents postes de la colonie. Commencé par le Sieur Bouguès, Secrétaire du Conseil, le 5 avril, 1722.'

This interesting manuscript, from its appearance, paper, chirography, size, etc., bears every evidence of being the

original duplicate of one of the regular official *cahiers* or reports submitted by the Secretary of the Council of the Colony of Louisiana to the ministry of marine.

It consists of about twenty-five closely written folio pages, and covers the period from the 5th April to the 10th September, 1722. By comparing it with the "*Journal Historique de l'Établissement des Français à la Louisiane*," usually called *LaHarpe's Journal*, we find, with a few exceptional changes, the text of the two to be identical. This establishes Margry's judgment, pronounced after his examination of *LaHarpe's Journal*, that it was the compilation of different records made by some clear-headed, methodical man; he attributes it to *le Chevalier de Beaurain, Géographe du Roy*. (Analytical and Critical History of America, Justin Winsor).

The contents of the *Sieur Bouguès'* report fall toward the end of the *La Harpe* volume, and with other similar official reports, and with the journals of the explorers, *La Harpe* and *Le Sueur*, they serve to present that complete and satisfactory tableau of the progress of the colony from its settlement to the foundation of New Orleans, which makes the value of the *Journal de l'Établissement*.

But, in the judicious editing to which it has been subjected, the report of *Bouguès* has necessarily suffered cutting and modifications in many of the details, which are as interesting to us to-day as statistical records.

We mean those details of the garrison life at Biloxi; the descriptions of the sociabilities, festivities and banquets, even the current gossip there, which throw a genial and pleasant light on the character and personality of our Louisiana colonial forefathers. It is to be hoped, therefore, that this manuscript will some day be translated and published, and so brought into easy reach of the historical student and lover.

The manuscript is the property of Mr. Felix Limongi, and was purchased by him from the collection of the late bibliographer, Mr. Muhl, of New Orleans.

GRACE KING.

GENERAL JACKSON'S LAST LETTER FROM CHALMETTE, PRIOR TO THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

BY WM. H. SEYMOUR.

The autographic letter, bearing date January 7, 1815, from the Commander of the Seventh Military Department, a *fac-simile* of which is herewith presented, was written by General Jackson himself, and is said to have been the last communication written from the old Macarty home, adjoining the plains of Chalmette, to Gen. David B. Morgan, who commanded the American force at the Cazelard plantation residence, upon the right bank of the river, some three miles below Algiers. This letter is now published for the first time.

Latour, in his "Memoirs of Louisiana," gives much interesting detail regarding the battle on both sides of the river, and another authority states:

"The general rejoicing in camp and in the city was destined to receive another serious shock; the news which had been in possession of the general from an early hour leaked out, that all had not gone well on the other bank of the river. It was but too true. The British attack had been as successful on the right as it had been disastrous on the left bank. Jackson might safely say, as Napoleon with far less truth remarked, when he heard of the defeat of his fleet at Trafalgar, 'I can not be everywhere.' There can be little doubt that if he had commanded on the right bank the only disgrace which sullied the glory of the campaign would have been avoided."

General Morgan and his troops, who were the chief actors in this disgraceful defeat, had been subjected to a long and fatiguing march during the previous day, and were, moreover, in an ill-armed condition. Whether these facts will be sufficient to acquit them of all blame or to mitigate the censure which has been so freely bestowed, we feel no desire to discuss.

A court of inquiry was subsequently appointed, with Carroll as president, and a portion of their findings were:

"The causes of the retreat are attributed to the shameful

Recd: Masters.
3rd M. District - E

Camp 4 miles below N Orleans

Yours were not coming. 4th Dec 1902

offer. - You will acquant May. Gordon

with this: & retain Mr. Lapin with you, who may be
successfully employed in your own works.

I am very respectfully

D. M. Moore, Jackson.

Mayor General County

Rec^d Master, E
3rd M. District -
S^t J^{ns}

Camp 4 miles below N Orleans
4th Dec: 1815.

Your letter of this date is just handed
me. I beg that you will continue your usual
obedience in ^{as certainly} ~~obeying~~ the movements of the Enemy;
& keep me constantly advised of them.

I think with you, that H. H. Lee ought to be
paid further Strengths, that it may be safely done
with a part of the force under your command. You
will therefore please to attend to this matter; acting
therein, as in your judgment the emergency may
require. I ~~am~~ your means may ^{urgently} ~~be~~ ^{not} ~~be~~
exposed to too great risk, your own position.

Seeing the slow manner in which the works at
H Lee progressed under Mr. Leflore, I did direct Charles
Sabot to have them completed with the utmost ex-
= pedition. This is not a moment in which the interests
of etiquette can be safely observed when the proper
officers will not thrilly & diligently perform their du-
= ties. - You will be ignorant they ~~are~~ ^{are}
not this; & retain Mr. Leflore with your, who may be
sovereignly employed in your own works.

I am very respectfully,

J. J. Motteux, Jackson.
Major General Comd.

flight of the command of Major Arnaud, sent to oppose the landing of the enemy; the retreat of the militia, which, considering their position, their arms and other causes, may be excusable; the panic and confusion in every part of the line, thereby occasioning the retreat and confusion of the Orleans and Louisiana drafted militia."

Colonel Thornton, the British commander, who had crossed the river at Villeré's to the Algiers side with his troops, and so boldly defeated Morgan and his men, received much praise from his superior officer.

It was in this action that the British acquired the small flag, which now hangs amid the trophies of other wars in Whitehall, London, with this inscription: "Taken at the battle of New Orleans, January 8th, 1815." Upon one of the guns captured in Morgan's lines the victors read this inscription: "Taken at the surrender of Yorktown, 1781."

Gayarré gives, in his "American Domination," a vivid description of the flight of the Morgan men towards the present site of Algiers. They ran with the wildest affright, throwing all their small effects away. Fortunately, their commander had better luck—all letters from his superior were saved. The one here published for the first time is a sample of the pointed and positive orders of General Jackson, which respected neither persons nor places. General Morgan was the recipient of other letters from his old commander, and, no doubt in his, pleasant home upon the Tehefuneta river had much to ponder over when memory reverted to days of warfare, long past.*

*The original of this letter is in the possession of Judge Wm. H. Seymour. We hope to publish others.—EDITORS.

PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. I, PART III, 1896.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION:

PROF. ALCÉE FORTIER,
DR. G. DEVRON,

MISS GRACE KING,
PROF. J. H. RAPP,
PROF. J. R. FICKLEN.

NEW ORLEANS:
L. Graham & Son, Ltd., Printers, 207-211 Baronne St.
1896.

CONTENTS.

1. List of Members.
2. Minutes of the Secretary.
3. Sketch of Pierre Margry.
4. The West Florida Revolution.
5. The Capture of Fort Charlotte.
6. The Defences of New Orleans in 1797.
7. Letter of General Andrew Jackson
8. Publications Received.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

Andry, George C.

Baker, Page M.

Baldwin, A., Jr.

Baldwin, H.

Baldwin, Mrs. H.

Beer, William

Beyer, Prof. George E.

Blake, Mrs. F. P.

Blanchard, N. C.

Breaux, Gus A.

Brown, R. H.

Brittin, Mrs. A.

Bruin, B.

Brunswig, L. N.

Butler, P.

Cage, H. C.

Chaffraix, Mrs. D. A.

Chalaron, J. A.

Chrétien, F. D.

Claiborne, Miss C.

Claiborne, Fernand

Cottam, H. T.

Cuzat, J. C.

Cusachs, C. V.

Cusachs, Gaspar

Cusachs, P. L.

Davis, Thomas E.

Deiler, Prof. J. H.

Devron, Dr. G.

Dillard, Prof. J. H.

Dimitry, John

Dixon, Prof. B. V. B.

Doane, Mrs. J.

Dymond, John

Elliott, Dr. J. B., Jr.

Farrar, E. H.

Farrar, Girault

Favrot, H. L.

Favrot, L. M.

Fenner, C. E.

Fenner, Mrs. C. E.

Ferguson, Judge J. H.

Ficklen, Prof. J. R.

Florance, E. T.

Forman, B. R.

Forman, B. R., Jr.

Formento, Dr. Felix

Fortier, Prof. Alcée

Freret, F. G.

Garland, H. L.

Gill, Prof. C. G.

Gillis, Mrs. M.

Gordon, Mrs. F. L.

Grima, Edgar

Heller, Rev. Max

Hill, Col. J. D.

Holt, Dr. Jos.

Howe, Judge W. W.

Hawkes, Capt. J. G.

Hughes, W. L.

Johnston, Wm. Preston

Johnston, Mrs. Wm. Preston

Joubert, Leon

Kindrick, L. W.

King, Judge F. D.

King, Miss Grace

Lanauze, Alb.
 LeDuc, Mrs. A.
 Lewis, Dr. E.
 Limongi, Felix
 Livaudais, J. L.
 Livaudais, A.
 Lombard, E. H.
 Low, C. F.
 Lusher, Mrs. R. M.
 Lyons, J. L.
 Lyons, Mrs. I. L.

May, A. H.
 Mayo, H. M.
 McCaleb, Thos.
 McConnell, J. M., Jr.
 McLaughlin, J. J.
 Meyer, Victor

Nicholls, Judge F. T.
 Nicholson, Geo.
 Nixon, Mrs. J. C.

Palmer, Rev. B. M.
 Parker, C. N.
 Parker, Dr. W. E.
 Pattison, C. E.
 Peytavin, Jno. L.
 Preot, Geo. C.

Quintero, Lamar C.

Rightor, Judge H. N.
 Rightor, Henry
 Roman, Mrs. S. Rhett
 Roach, T. R.
 Roberts, Mrs. Percy
 Rosen, Charles
 Rapp, J. H.

Semmes, T. J.
 Sessums, Bishop Davis
 Seymour, W. H.
 Smith, Prof. W. B.
 Soniat, G. V.
 Soniat, Dr. J. M.
 Souchon, Dr. E.
 Stamps, Mrs. M.
 Story, Capt. B.
 Story, Mrs. B.
 Stuart, Miss C.

Tallis, R. L.
 Tuyes, Jules

Von Phul, Wm.
 Villars, L. R.
 Villeré, St. D.

Waddill, Frank
 Walmsley, R. M.
 Walmsley, Mrs. R. M.
 Westfeldt, G. R.
 Wharton, T. P.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Mgr. F. Janssens
 Gov. M. J. Foster
 Hy. Vignaud
 E. O. Randall, Columbus, O.
 Reuben G. Thwaites, Madison.
 Wis.
 Vincent J. Lane, Kansas City,
 Mo.

J. Amos Barnett, Lincoln, Neb.
 Michael Shoemaker, Jackson,
 Mich.
 Chas. Aldrich, Des Moines, Ia.
 J. P. Dunn, Indianapolis, Ind.
 J. D. Butler, Madison, Wis.
 Wm. C. Winslow, Boston.
 Daniel Wilder, Kansas.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

During the past official year (February, 1895, to February, 1896) the Louisiana Historical Society has shown a more flourishing status than ever before. In the future a career of great usefulness seems to open before it. Its roll of membership has now risen to 123; important historical papers are brought before its members, and two publications have been issued containing selected papers from the work of the society.

At the various meetings of the society, beside the regular papers, much detailed historical matter has been presented by the members. It has been decided, therefore, by the Publication Committee to publish extracts from the minutes of the secretary:

TULANE HALL, March 20, 1895.

The society met at 8 P. M., President Fortier in the chair and Secretary Ficklen at the desk. After the reading of the minutes, the secretary stated that he had received a letter from Mr. Oscar Arroyo, to whom he had written in regard to the origin of the seal of Louisiana. Mr. Arroyo wrote that he was sure the present seal had been chosen by Governor Claiborne in 1812, and had never been changed since. The secretary stated that he had found in Moreau-Lislet's Digest of 1828 the act authorizing the governor to make choice of a seal, but that it would be interesting to know why the governor chose a pelican with its young as emblematic of the State. Mr. Felix Limongi then read some interesting extracts from a manuscript of 1722, now in his possession. Some discussion followed, during which Miss King remarked that La Harpe doubtless gathered his materials from the secretaries of the colonies or made use of such materials as are contained in Mr. Limongi's manuscript. (This manuscript

was afterward reviewed by Miss King in the society's publications, Vol. I, part 2.)

Dr. Devron then entertained the society with the reading of a letter from a Capuchin, dated at New Orleans, 1723. The doctor had filled out the lines of this letter, which he had purchased in a mutilated condition. Dr. Shea, he stated, had published a translation of the same letter in a Catholic Review. The Capuchin gave anything but a cheerful picture of life in Louisiana during the year 1723.

Dr. Devron then showed an interesting book published in 1817. The author was a Dr. Heustis, who discusses diseases common in Louisiana during the early part of the century. (This work is also in the Howard Library.)

Dr. Devron then gave a brief account of the famous Sister Hachard, who was secretary to Mother Tranchepain in the early days of the Ursuline nuns.

Dr. Devron then traced the history of the last of the Montezumas, who, he stated, died a pauper, in New Orleans, in 1836.

Mr. Wm. Beer then stated that he had purchased Moss' *Gazette*, published in 1804, which contained a brief account of Louisiana. In the preface of the work various names are suggested for the new territory—such as Fedonia, Columbia, etc. The name Louisiana was to be rejected as unamerican.

The president then announced that the annual election of officers, deferred from the last meeting, was now in order. Col. J. D. Hill nominated for re-election the officers of the past year. There being no other nominations, the old officers were re-elected, as follows: President, Alcée Fortier; First Vice President, Miss Grace King; Second Vice President, Dr. Gustave Devron; Secretary and Treasurer, John R. Ficklen; Assistant Secretary, J. H. Rapp.

The president appointed, on the Finance Committee, Messrs. Cruzat, Freret, and Hill. The other committees to be announced at next meeting.

MEETING OF APRIL 17, 1895.

The minutes having been read, Mr. E. C. Randall, of Ohio, was elected honorary corresponding member.

The president then stated that he had some conversation with Governor Foster, who seemed much interested in the Historical Society, and thought the Legislature would certainly make an appropriation for the society's benefit.

The president further stated that through the aid of the president of the Comus Club, in Natchitoches, he had been enabled to establish a branch of the Historical Society in that city. A committee was appointed to work for the establishment of branches in different sections of the State.

Judge W. W. Howe presented to the society a letter from Mr. Feitel, and some documents which the latter had found in the walls of the old Parish Prison when it was pulled down.

Miss King then read some very interesting notes, which she had taken from the original documents preserved in the Ursuline Convent, especially two letters narrating the incidents of the voyage to this country of Sister Hachard and her companions.

MEETING OF MAY 22, 1895.

After reading of the minutes of last meeting, Mr. Favrot drew the attention of the society to Remy's History of Louisiana, originally published in one of the parish newspapers. He thought the society should take steps to procure the original MS. of this work.

Mr. Beer said the parish clerks should be written to and copies obtained of the valuable records under their charge.

The president stated that the Executive Committee had prepared a circular letter, which would be sent to prominent men in the country parishes, urging them to form branch societies.

The president then introduced Justice Miller, who delivered a lecture on prominent men and affairs in Louisiana between

1800 and 1830 Justice Miller explained some of the secret history connected with the purchase of Louisiana. He showed that Jefferson bulldozed Napoleon into selling Louisiana by threatening that the United States would form an alliance with England. Justice Miller then drew character sketches of prominent Louisiana lawyers in the early part of the century, especially of Livingstons and Mazureau.

Dr. Holt then addressed the society on the subject of General Wilkinson, saying that Roosevelt in "The Winning of the West," was very severe in his treatment of the general's character.

MEETING OF JUNE 12, 1895.

After the reading of the minutes, the chief feature of the meeting was the paper of Charles Patton Dimitry, entitled "Six Dominations in Louisiana, with Emblems." Mr. Dimitry exhibited to the society many emblems of the various dominations, at the same time presenting to the society some documents bearing the signature of Louis XV and Louis XVI.

Dr. Devron then read a paper in memoriam of the famous editor, Pierre Margry (published in this pamphlet).

MEETING OF OCTOBER 16, 1895.

After the reading of the minutes Dr. Devron showed a map of New Orleans taken from the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of 1772. The map exhibited the ignorance of its maker, for the present site of New Orleans was confounded with that which was chosen for Galvezton, the town named after Governor Galvez.

The assistant secretary then read a paper from Mr. Wm. Beer, giving the correspondence between Galvez and Captain Durnford in regard to the surrender of Fort Charlotte, Mobile.*

The president gave an interesting account of his visit to Mr. Henri Vignaud, in Paris. Mr. Vignaud, who is one of our honorary members, has many valuable documents in his library connected with the history of Louisiana.

* Published in this pamphlet.

The president, in the name of Prof. J. Hanno Deiler, presented the society with the latter's work, entitled "Louisiana, Ein Heim für Deutsche Ansiedler." A vote of thanks was tendered to Prof. Deiler for his able investigations in Louisiana history.

SPECIAL MEETING OF NOVEMBER 9, 1895.

This called meeting of [the society was held to protest against the proposed destruction by the city of the old Cabildo (Supreme Court Building) and the District Court Building on Jackson Square.

Spirited addresses were made by Judge Wm. H. Seymour, John L. Peytavin and H. L. Favrot. All urged that the society should exert itself to prevent the destruction of these buildings, especially of the Cabildo, which is so closely connected with the most important events of our State history.

A committee was appointed by President Fortier, consisting of Messrs. Ficklen, Peytavin and Seymour, to draw up appropriate resolutions to be presented to the City Council. By motion of Mr. Ficklen the president was added to the committee.

Resolutions praying that the Cabildo and the District Court Buildings be preserved and used as museums of historical relics were brought in by the committee and unanimously adopted.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER 20, 1895.

President Fortier read to the society a postal card from Mr. L. A. Dutto, of Mississippi, containing a quotation from a history of Cuba, written by Valdez, which quotation furnished information in regard to the capture of Baton Rouge by Galvez.

Mr. H. L. Favrot then read a paper on the Revolution in West Florida, which is published in this pamphlet.

MEETING OF DECEMBER 18, 1895.

President Fortier stated that the society had received a valuable donation from Mr. McCormick, acting as testament-

ary executor of Miss Jeanne Peyroux, consisting of letters, documents and relics of the Lafiton family. Among the last was a sword. For the preservation of these gifts it was decided that a glass case should be purchased and the collection be placed in the Surget Exhibition at Tulane University.

Mr. Beer exhibited several rare books concerning the history of Louisiana, two of which gave new versions of the Battle of New Orleans.

Judge Seymour then read a paper on the history of Algiers, which now forms a portion of New Orleans. This paper was the feature of the evening, and Judge Seymour received the thanks of the society for his contribution.

MEETING OF JANUARY, 15, 1896.

The society spent a pleasant evening in discussing the site of the earliest settlements in Louisiana. An interesting paper by Mr. S. Poitevent was read by the president, in which Mr. Poitevent gave a list of the various relics he had picked up or dug up at Ocean Springs, Mississippi, from which he concluded that there could be no doubt about Ocean Springs, on the east side of Biloxi Bay, having been the site of Iberville's first fort.

Dr. Devron showed that there had been much difference of opinion on this point; but that the old maps, of which he exhibited a number from Winsor, proved the correctness of Mr. Poitevent's conclusion.

IN MEMORY OF PIERRE MARGRY.

BY DR. GUSTAVE DEVRON.

Pierre Margry, so well known for his researches and publications, has been dead a year last March, and I only found it out two months ago by receiving a catalogue of Mr. Charles Chadenat, of Paris, for March and April, 1895, with a notice that he had just acquired the library of the late Pierre Margry,

and that the present catalogue contained several of his books, with very copious marginal notes by the said Margry.

This was the first notice I had of the death of the man to whom all writers of Franco-American history are indebted. I at once requested my friend, Mr. Joseph Delgado of this city, to write to Messrs. Chadenat & Terquem, of Paris. for papers or publications giving an account of the life, works and death of Pierre Margry.

A few days ago I obtained three papers alluding to the same, to-wit:

1. PARIS—CANADA.—Paris, Saturday, May 5, 1894. This contains a very eulogistic obituary of Margry, showing how much Canada and its writers owe to his patient researches, and ends by a well deserved tribute to his noble, intelligent and devoted wife.

2. REVUE FRANÇAISE DE L'ÉTRANGER ET LES COLONIES, for October, 1894.—This contains an elaborate necrology of Pierre Margry, by Mr. E. Rameau de St. Père, giving the details of his work of research, and deploring the fact that Margry was better appreciated abroad than at home, and that it is left to future generations to do justice to the memory and talents of the deceased.

3. Société Normande de Géographie. Bulletin de l'Année 1894—Mai-Juin; published at Rouen.

This journal contains a most extensive notice of Pierre Margry, an honorary member of the *Société Normande de Géographie*. The paper is written by Gabriel Gravier, who, like Margry, was the admirer and historian of LaSalle. I will not describe this paper, as what I am now about to read is an abridged translation and paraphrase of the same.

PIERRE MARGRY.

Born December 8, 1818; died March 27, 1894.

Pierre Margry was born in Paris, France, on the 8th of December, 1818. He was educated at the Collège Charlemagne, of that city, and graduated in 1838.

His father, who had been a heraldic painter in the service of the French government since 1815, lost his position in

1832. Shortly afterward he lost all his savings by the failure of a banker, and in 1838 he earned only a scanty living as a painter of flowers.

Margry's father could no longer give his son any great assistance and he advised him to study law or medicine. This did not suit young Margry's tastes; he felt, or believed, he was born to follow a literary career. To please his father he accepted a clerkship in one of the ministry departments as book-keeper, a position he only retained three months.

Margry then gave private lessons in Latin, French and English while writing a few contributions to newspapers, reviews and dictionaries. He also translated into French the speech delivered by General Cass at the Capitol of Washington, in 1836, before the American Historical Society.

A few years later General Cass being in Paris, in his capacity as minister from the United States, secured the services of young Margry as his teacher of the French language, and retained him as such for about three years. Having abundant leisure, while attached to the general's service, Margry's literary tastes returned, and he wrote first a comedy, which he eventually destroyed, and then "*La Danse Aux Aveugles*," a play in several acts representing mankind led by money, love and death.

General Cass at last prevailed upon him to give up this kind of work, and to devote himself to historical geography. Colonel Brodhead, being sent to France, by the State of New York, in search of French documents, relating to the history of the British colonies in their relations with the French colonies in America, General Cass proposed to Margry, who accepted, to direct and supervise this work for Mr. Brodhead.

From that day the literary tastes of Margry took the direction they have followed to his death. On comparing the documents with printed books he became satisfied that much of Franco-American history must be rewritten.

He gave all his leisure to his researches before he became connected with the public archives, and even after. He copied, for authorized strangers, most important papers relating to Canada, Louisiana and Cape Breton. These documents were used by Sheldon, Gayarré, Parkman and others.

Margry, as archivist of the navy, formed two lots of the documents, which were dispersed in various packages. The first, comprising 300 volumes, contains all the naval campaigns previous to 1789; the second contains the documents relating to the company of the Indies. He did this work alone and with great care. When a document interested him he did not hesitate to visit other archives and libraries, and even those of private individuals. He devoted forty years of his life to those researches on the influence and discoveries of France and of her sons in foreign lands, mainly in America.

He published in 1867: *Relations et Mémoires inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la France dans les pays d'outre-mer*. Among others in this volume is to be found authentic memoirs of Henry de Tonty, one of the bravest and most devoted lieutenants of Cavalier de la Salle. The same year he also published his book: *Les Navigations françaises et la Révolution Maritime du XIV au XVI siècle*.

This work was severely criticised by Mr. Major, because one of the documents published was proven to be a fraudulent one which Margry had accepted as authentic. It was supposed to have been written in 1634, but the language was not of that century. Margry had been deceived, but his honesty was never questioned.

In 1879 Margry commenced the publication of his great work in six volumes, published both in America and in France: *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origines françaises des pays d'outre-mer*.

The three first volumes (1614-1698) are entirely devoted to Cavalier de la Salle, and the contents were obtained not only from the public archives and national library, but from various public and private collections.

The fourth volume contains documents relating to the discovery and taking possession of the mouths of the Mississippi from the sea, by Pierre Lemoyne d'Iberville, the son of Charles Lemoyne, of Dieppe. It is the continuation of the conquest of Louisiana by Cavalier de la Salle. The fifth volume describes the formation of a chain or series of posts or settlements between the St. Lawrence river and the Gulf

of Mexico. We here meet Frontenac, La Barre, devoted to the Jesuits, and de la Mothe-Cadillac, whose name is inseparable from that of Detroit.

The sixth volume has for a special title: "*Exploration des affluents du Mississipi et découverte des Montagnes Rocheuses.*" (1679-1754) Lemoyne de Bienville, whom Gravier calls "still another Norman," continued this work that the death of la Salle had left incomplete.

These six volumes being almost entirely devoted to the glory of the discoverers and pioneers from Normandy, Mr. Margry richly deserves the titles conferred on him: "Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences, Belles Lettres and Arts of the City of Rouen," and "Honorary Member of the Norman Society of Geography."

Margry would never have been able to publish the above six volumes if he had relied upon the assistance of his government. The late Parkman and President Garfield and the United States Congress deserve great credit for the publication of the above six volumes.

Margry tried in vain for many years to have his books published by his country that he loved so well. Parkman, while in France collecting material for his great work, offered to buy the Margry papers, but Margry refused the bank notes, preferring to publish in his own name the documents he had collected and which are an honor to his country, France.

Mr. Parkman fully appreciated the noble motives of Margry, and in 1872 he obtained the promise of a good Boston editor to publish the work more for glory than profit. A few days later a large portion of Boston was destroyed by fire and the editor receded from his promise.

Margry felt down-hearted at this announcement, but Messrs. Parkman, Whittlesy and Marshall, with the influence of many learned societies and powerful friends, appealed to Congress, and on the 3d of March, 1873, the publication was ordered, and Margry accepted all the conditions imposed on him by the United States government; but he insisted that he should be at liberty to have an edition made for France.

This was all the reward Margry expected and he was satisfied with the result. He at once set to work to give publicity to the work, writing prefaces, correcting proof, etc., in a state of mental excitement threatening to end at any moment in cerebral congestion. His physician ordered him to discontinue all work, advice to which he paid no attention, sacrificing his health and life to complete his great work.

In 1880 he was confined to his bed for five weeks, and the following year, having attained the age limit, he was removed from office and placed on the pensioned retired list.

In 1870 he had been decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor as a public employee, but not as a learned or talented man.

A few years later, in 1884, he lost the use of his right eye, and was in danger of losing the other unless he ceased to work.

Two women play an important part in the life of Margry. The first one, a young lady, related to a celebrated American general, and also to a governor of Canada, was engaged to Margry. Her aunt advanced him 4000 francs on the intended dowry, to enable him to make a trip of investigation and discovery in Normandy. On his return, he informed Mrs. de N—, the aunt of the young lady, of the success of his trip. She at once asked him how much profit he would get from his discoveries. He answered, "the satisfaction of doing justice to the memory of a man who has extended the power of our country, and to have restored to him the glory to which he is entitled in the New World." "What I want to know," replied Mrs. de N—, "is what money consideration you will get for the money you have spent." "Oh!" answered Margry, "I can soon make the calculation, for the recital of my discovery would cover about twenty lines in the *Moniteur*, which, at four *sous* a line, makes —." "Four francs," said Mrs. de N—, "four francs for 4000 francs! A great profit, indeed! My dear young man, you shall not marry my niece. Miss M. will not use paper scraps to decorate her dresses."

He had to give up the niece, to submit to many privations

and to return the 4000 francs out of his small salary. The discovery which he had made, and which had caused that disappointment, was that Pierre Belain d'Esnambuc, the founder of the French power in the Antilles, was born near Coetot, and the glorification of that Frenchman was the only satisfaction he had for the loss of the young American miss.

In 1878, anemic and seriously sick, almost without hope of recovery, after forty years of hard work, he was preparing to die, when a lady friend said to him: "Why do you not get married?" Margry shrugged his shoulders, saying, "I am no longer fit to marry any one; who would accept such a ruin?"

Margry, who had been sorely disappointed in his first love, and knew so much, did not know what depth of devotion and infinite kindness lurked in the heart of another woman. That woman, much younger than he was, made up her mind to brighten his last years, and to restore his bodily and mental health, so that he should continue his great work. She was good-looking, plain in her dresses, which she nevertheless wore elegantly, and was most highly connected. This amiable lady nursed him intelligently and most affectionately during sixteen years, and was not only loved but worshipped by Pierre Margry. When he died on the 27th of March, 1894, she wept bitterly for "poor Pierre;" for she also loved dearly her learned old husband, who had such a noble and proud heart. This woman deserves the gratitude of all those who admire the works of Pierre Margry.

P. S.—The Louisiana State Historical Society possesses three large quarto volumes of manuscript documents, relating to early Louisiana, collected and written for it in 1849 by Pierre Margry.

THE WEST FLORIDA REVOLUTION AND INCIDENTS GROWING OUT OF IT.*

WITH NOTES ON GEN. THOMAS AND LIEUT. GRANDPRÉ.

BY HENRY L. FAVROT.

PART II.

An eminent English authority once said that revolution was the sudden uprising of a people to operate a change in their constitution or government, but the same distinguished authority designated the American war and declaration of independence as a rebellion. This inconsistency is cited to call attention to the effect that bias or prejudice may have on the opinions of people, and when, therefore, you hear the versions given of the capture of the fort at Baton Rouge you may designate the uprising as will best suit your enlisted sympathies, but pardon its being called here a revolution. In the published account of the causes which led to the result you have already been given a fairly good idea of local conditions, and of the state of the public mind. It is therefore unnecessary to recapitulate what has already been gone over. Suffice here to say that as modern as this event may seem, as accessible the locality, even in those days, historians generally have exhibited a remarkable ignorance of the true happenings of an eventful period, and apparently little research has been made to complete a chain of historical evidence.

Judge Martin, who should have been considered conclusive authority, for the actors in this drama were his contemporaries, exhibits a woful ignorance by citing the absence of Governor Delassus, and subsequent authors have accepted the authority unquestioned.

Judge Gayarré is in error when stating that Grandpré was the only man killed, and that has grown to be the accepted belief, while other authors have dilated on the affair and fallen into equally if not more serious error.

The incidents and occurrences growing out of the Revolu-

* The author must acknowledge his thanks due to Mrs. Bynum and Mrs. Magruder, and to his own relatives in Baton Rouge, while he also desires to acknowledge courtesies from members of the Skipwith and French families.

tion cover a broad field of historical research, and West Florida and its affairs have figured largely in our national legislation, its land claims furnishing subject for investigation even in the last score of years.

It will be sufficient to recall that the province had already undergone a certain change of government and was under the authority of self-constituted laws, whose enforcement was entrusted to Governor Delassus and his associates. The Revolution threw the whole burden and responsibility of the government on the convention that authorized it, and this body remained in continuous session until it had framed a constitution and thereunder elected officers, about the middle of November, 1810. For all that transpired at the capture of the fort scarce better authority can be produced than the report made by Col. Philemon Thomas and taken from a printed copy of the time. It reads:

HEADQUARTERS FORT OF BATON ROUGE, }
September 24, 1810. }

To John Rhea, President of Convention of West Florida:

SIR—In obedience to the order of the convention, bearing date the 22d inst., I directed Major Johnston to assemble such of the cavalry as might be ready at hand, and march immediately for the fort at Baton Rouge. I then proceeded to Springfield, where I found forty-four of the grenadier company, commanded by Col. Ballinger, awaiting orders of the convention. At 1 o'clock in the morning of the 23d we joined Major Johnston and Capt. Griffith with twenty-one of the Bayou Sara cavalry, and five or six other patriotic gentlemen joined us in our march.

At 4 o'clock the same morning we made the attack. My orders were not to fire till we received a shot from the garrison and to cry out in French and English: "Ground your arms and you will not be hurt." This order was strictly attended to by the volunteers till we received a discharge of musketry from the guard house, where the governor was, which was briskly returned by the volunteers. We received no damage on our part. Of the governor's troops Lieut. Louis de Grandpré was mortally wounded, Lieut. J. B. Metzinger, commandant of artillery, was also wounded, one private killed and four badly wounded. We took twenty prisoners,

and among whom is Col. Delassus. The rest of the garrison escaped by flight. The magazines, stores, etc., found in the garrison, have been reported to you by James Nelson, Esq., who was appointed for that purpose.

The various and complicated duties devolving on me from present circumstances of the moment forbid a more minute detail. The firmness and moderation of the volunteers, who made the attack, was fully equal to that of the best disciplined troops. Whole companies are daily flocking to our standard, and the harmony and patriotism prevailing in the garrison must be highly gratifying to every friend of his country.

Accept, sir, for yourself and your body, assurances of my highest esteem.

PHILEMON THOMAS,

Commander of Fort of Baton Rouge and Dependencies.

In this very lucid report, which was evidently written for Gen. Thomas, he says nothing about the fact that a preconcerted signal of three cannon was fired to announce the success of the enterprise.

It would not be amiss right here to give what might well be called a Spanish version of the affair, written by an old French officer residing near the place and taken from his manuscript, hitherto unpublished, for this special purpose. The translation of the original only will be given:

"After Spain had ceded Louisiana to France and France to the United States, Spain remained, nevertheless, possessor of the two Floridas, which had been conquered by Galvez in 1779. Don Bisete Folch governed East Florida, of which Pensacola was the capital. Don Carlos de Grandpré, Lieutenant Colonel in the Spanish service, was in command at Baton Rouge, which was the chief seat of all the territory that was soon afterward annexed to Louisiana. In 1808 De Grandpré went on a voyage to Havana, where he died the following year. Mr. DeLassus, an officer in the service of Spain, commanded in the place of Grandpre.

"In 1810 a part of the inhabitants of Feliciana and a few from Baton Rouge were displeased with the administration of Mr. Delassus, and it was said at the time that the government of the United States had agents in the territory that

incited the inhabitants to overthrow the Spanish government. This part I only know from hearsay. The malcontents, having joined some adventurers from Mississippi, marched to the number of one hundred on the foot at Baton Rouge, which was falling in ruins. The garrison was only composed of about fifteen invalid soldiers, commanded by Don Louis de Grandpré, a young man of twenty-three years and son of the deceased governor. The besiegers were on horseback and armed with carbines and pistols, and they could and did ride into the fort on their horses, where there was only a handful of men to conquer. There was not a single cannon loaded nor even in condition to be loaded. When the enemy arrived a sentinel gave the alarm, and Grandpré immediately assembled his little troop, which he ranged in order of battle, and when the attacking force was sufficiently near, a voice from its ranks called upon him to surrender. He replied, 'Only under fire!' and the discharge was immediate.

"Almost all of the shots were directed on the unfortunate young man, who fell stricken by five bullets. He died twenty-four hours afterward. It was during the night of 22d to 23d of September, 1810, exactly thirty-one years after the taking of the same fort by Galvez, that Louis de Grandpré fell a victim to honor and duty. Even his enemies wept his loss and followed his remains to their last resting place. The taking of the fort at Baton Rouge can scarcely be considered a victory, and the death of Grandpré was a murder without necessity, but there is a tendency to make a brilliant affair of a miserable skirmish. History must tell the truth. The taking of the fort at Baton Rouge in 1810 did no honor to the victors."

After the capture of the fort, the convention that had authorized it openly assumed power and absolute control of the government of West Florida, and ordered Col. Thomas, commanding the militia, to repair to St. Helena and Springfield. This he did with the promptness and alacrity of a true soldier, and on the 4th and 5th of October the two places respectively surrendered without resistance. Shepard Brown, one of the associate judges with DeLassus, and who was

looked upon as the special confederate of the commander, surrendered and threw himself on the mercy of the convention on October the 8th, and on the same day this body ordered him in close confinement, holding, at the same time, that two such traitors as he and DeLassus scarce deserved such leniency at their hands. Previously, however, and it might be said the first action of the convention, was the unanimously adopted declaration of independence, which has already been published and so intelligently commented upon by Mr. Gayarré as to need no repetition here, but on the same day, September 26, 1810, they issued to the people of West Florida the following proclamation, which was ordered to be published and circulated, and which is now reproduced here from a print of the time :

“By the Representatives of the People of West Florida, in Convention Assembled—

“PROCLAMATION.

“The several Districts of West Florida having been declared a Free and Independent State by a solemn act of this Convention made and published this day, we hasten to congratulate our fellow-citizens on this fortunate event, and to assure them that nothing shall be wanting on our part in order to secure to our constituents and to our country the blessings of liberty and equal rights, and to establish those rights on a permanent foundation.

“In the meantime the laws heretofore observed in the administration of justice and the determining of the right of property remain in full force as far as the situation of the country will permit. The ordinances and the resolutions adopted by the Convention, with the concurrence of the Governor, on the 22d of August last, are considered as law, agreeably to the proclamation of that date, excepting only that the powers vested in the Governor by that ordinance will be exercised by this Convention for the time being, and until some permanent regulations be made for the better government of this commonwealth.

“Done in Convention on this Wednesday, September 26, A. D. 1810, and Independence of Florida the first.

“JOHN RHEA, *President.*”

Another of the first duties of the convention was to regulate the rate of taxation, which it did by dividing lands into first, second and third quality, on the first of which the tax was fixed at six rials per hundred arpents; on the second, four rials, and on the third, two rials; while it was also made the duty of the alcades in each division to estimate the quantity and quality of the lands, and it was provided that the returns were to be made through the district commanders to the clerk of the superior courts.

On the 16th of October a meeting was discovered in the fort at Baton Rouge. The mutineers were headed by one Captain Cook, and had for their object the liberation of Delassus and Shepard Brown, but the plot was discovered. Cook and two confederates were arrested and ordered out of the province, never to return on penalty of death.

The convention about this time passed an ordinance, allowing all persons residing in the commonwealth to import slaves belonging to them without paying tax, and at the same time was promulgated another law to draft a constitution for a republican form of government, and nominate legislative and executive officers thereunder. The convention met and prepared a proper constitution, much after the same style as that of the United States, and thereunder Fulwar Shipwith was nominated and elected on the 7th of November to the governorship of the new republic.

It has been necessary to anticipate a little in this historical narrative. It is, therefore, proper to return to the convention and its session in early October, when, with the consent of this body, Colonel Thomas organized an expedition to capture the posts of the gulf coast as far as the Perdido river, and Col. Reuben Kemper, the fiery and warlike American preacher, was placed at the head of a body of men for that purpose. Colonel Kemper set out immediately for the neighborhood of Mobile, his troops, according to himself, "making a fine show in the mellow autumn sunlight, and with consciousness of right in their breasts, and that the eye of God was upon them."* On reaching Pascagoula, Colonel

*From a MS. letter of Kemper.

Kemper engaged the services of two prominent men, Sterling Dupree and Peter Nicola, whom he commissioned respectively with the titles of major and captain on the part of the convention, and under the flag of West Florida Kemper and his associates captured many places on the coast, and approached so near the defences of Mobile as to alarm the Spanish Governor Folch, who wrote a letter to President Madison, appealing urgently to him to send all the troops from Fort Stoddard to help him drive Kemper back to Baton Rouge.

This letter is a curiosity and is to be found in the State papers under Foreign Relations, but it is not proposed here to discuss it further than to note how remarkable was the attitude assumed by Governor Folch. Before setting out, Kemper, who was a man of resources, sent a trusty subordinate, Captain Goss by name, not only to secure as far as possible the sympathy of the inhabitants, but also to secure what provisions, munitions and arms were necessary for the troops. It was known that a certain person, by name Henri de la Francia, had a great number of Spanish muskets in a barge somewhere in the lakes, and to him Goss executed his note for the purchase of the lot, giving Kemper as security. Those arms have an eventful history.* De la Francia first sued Goss, who pleaded that he was Kemper's subordinate, and acting under Kemper's orders. Then he sued Kemper, and this latter plead that he was a subordinate acting under orders of the convention.

He sued the convention or its members, and they plead that they were *functus officio*, having been dispersed by the forces of the United States, who assumed their powers, and that government thereby made itself responsible for the debts of the little free State. Finally he applied to the government, and there the claim was pushed by his heirs.

They were finally paid in 1849, but only because General Jackson had sworn before the Congressional Committee that he truly believed the same arms were sent down from Baton Rouge and used in the defences of New Orleans, and were

* Old files of *National Intelligencer* and *Debates in Congress*.

thereafter in possession of the government officials. In this way the De la Francia heirs got \$48,000 of the money of the United States, principal, interest and costs since 1810. It is worthy of notice, too, that the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States was favorable to the payment of the claim on the ground that the United States government had made itself liable for the debts of the defunct government of West Florida. This official was no other than that distinguished jurist, Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland.

This theory of the liability of the government for the debts, incurred by West Florida found support in the attitude of several Congresses, and notably so in the first session of the Nineteenth Congress, when a large majority of the members of the House were committed to an appropriation for the relief of Charles Delassus, and the bill was killed in the Senate, though supported by Benton, Randolph and Hayne. This bill provided for the payment to Delassus of something over \$7000 that were proven to have been taken from him when he was captured by the forces of the convention of September 23, 1810. Some of this money was his personal property and some belonged to the Spanish government, and all was used to pay the expenses of the free State of West Florida.

But this narrative has gone astray again, and must return to Baton Rouge. It is ascertainable that, before Kemper's departure, the convention had adopted a flag that has no insignificant history. When it was first determined to capture the port, some of the leaders suggested that a troop without a standard lacked the essential features of unity and common purpose; therefore the suggestion was made to some discreet ladies of the little place, and they immediately set to work to supply the deficiency. Neither historical records nor tradition tell how those fair women were able, for two whole days, to keep the secret, but they did, and when Thomas' forces reached Baton Rouge, they found awaiting them a flag made of blue woolen material, with a large silver star in the centre. On the morning of September 23, 1810, this flag waved triumphantly from the tall flagstaff. and there it

remained until supplanted by the "stars and stripes." The convention, a few days afterward, adopted it as the flag of West Florida.

There seems to have arisen differences of opinion among the residents of the territory, all of whom have joined in the Declaration of Independence, as to the future of the government. Primarily, a great many were in favor of immediate annexation to the United States, and application for protection was made therefor, by the convention. This party was headed by the influence of Thomas and a friend of his from the St. Helena district, by the name of Larry Moore.

With the idea of emphasizing their position as Americans, these two men had themselves elected delegates to a convention soon to be held in the territory of Orleans, that was to discuss a Constitution for the then prospective State of Louisiana, and to memorialize Congress for admission as a State.

In Colonel Sparks' "Memoirs of Fifty Years," he gives an excellent and ludicrous account of the proceedings, though he mistakes legislature for convention and State for Territory. With these exceptions, the local press of the period bears him out. See Sparks, page 392.

About the same time that this comedy was being acted, the Superior Court of the Territory of Orleans rendered a very elaborate and important opinion. The decision is reported in 1 Martim, page 151, entitled *Newcombe vs. Skipwith*, and the statement of the case is as follows: "This is an action on which process of attachment has been sued out and levied on a negro woman, the property of defendant, who is stated to be a resident of the village of Monte Sano, near Baton Rouge, under Sec 11 of Act of 1805, etc., which authorizes the issuing of that process 'for the recovery of a debt due from a person residing out of the territory.' The defendant, alleging that Monte Sano is within this territory, has prayed that the process of attachment may be set aside."

Well, the process was set aside, and Judge Martin, as the organ of the court, in a very elaborate opinion, giving a complete review and close analysis of the treaties of 1763, 1783, 1800 and 1803, decided conclusively that West Florida was

ceded with the balance of Louisiana to the United States, and that Monte Sano formed part of the Territory of Orleans. This decision is of great historical importance, and has certainly escaped the notice of our historians.

Meanwhile the Independent State Party in West Florida adopted their constitution as has already been said, elected Fulwar Skipwith as governor, and he was inaugurated on the 29th of November, 1810, when he pronounced his inaugural address, which is a document published in several of the newspapers of the period and is replete with patriotic sentiments and sound, substantial advice. It opens as follows:

"Gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives: Called by your joint and unanimous suffrages to fill the office of chief magistrate under the constitution adopted by the people of this commonwealth, I repair with a full sense of my own imperfect qualifications to that critical and honorable post, believing it to be the duty of every citizen at this moment to implicitly obey the call of his country."

After carefully outlining his course of future action and the proper paths to pursue in private and official life, and after paying an eloquent and just tribute to the virtues and fame of Washington, he closes: "It remains for us by all the means in our power to support a character so honorable to ourselves and to our country. By the example, conduct and application to their respective duties of all public functionaries, the degraded and licentious among us can be best *imbued* with those precepts of order, decorum and subordination which distinguish so pre-eminently civilized from savage man, and which must be among the first and most cherished laws of Heaven, since we see their divine essence expressed in the fall of animate and inanimate creation (sic)." But in the midst of its life West Florida was doomed to end its "ephemeral existence;" for on the 29th of October President Madison issued his proclamation to Governor Claiborne to take possession in behalf of the United States, and on the 7th of December this latter distinguished gentleman came down from Natchez to Baton Rouge, and in obedience to instructions the "Stars and Stripes" replaced the argent star

on a blue field; the government of the free State peacefully dissolved; its troops disbanded and its citizens enrolled themselves among the truest and stanchest of the Great Republic.

Mr. Gayarré gives such a complete history of these events that it is useless to repeat the details, except to add that the President's proclamation and the occupation of the territory were the subject of much wrangling and debate in Congress, while the speeches of Clay, Rhea, Quincy, Pope, and Horsey form important chapters of Louisiana history.

It would not be amiss to append what may be known of Thomas, probably the central figure of this remarkable revolution, and who died a hero, honored and revered. Through the kindness of Mr. Beer, is given from Lanman's Biography for the First Century of Civil Government of the United States the following: "Thomas, Philemon; native of South Carolina; fought during Revolutionary War against British. Lived some years in Kentucky, and was a member of her Legislature. Removed to Louisiana. In 1810 and 1811 headed insurrection which freed West Florida from Spain. Congressman from Louisiana 1831 to 1835. Died in Baton Rouge Nov. 18, 1847, aged 83 years."

This authority would seem to lack somewhat of correctness, and the following is the epitaph on his tombstone, in the National Cemetery at Baton Rouge:

"To the memory of General Philemon Thomas, who was born in Orange county, Va., February 9, 1763, and died in Baton Rouge, La., November 18, 1847. This tablet is erected by his children. He was a soldier of '76 and '14, and member of the convention that framed the constitution of Kentucky and a member of her legislature.

"He moved to Louisiana in 1806. Commanded the forces which captured the Spanish fort at Baton Rouge in 1810. Served many years in the legislature of Louisiana; was twice elected to the Congress of the United States. Throughout his career he was called a patriot and a good citizen. We know him to be a kind father and a firm Christian.

"*' Sic tibi sit terra levis.'*"

From Sparks, who knew him well, and served with him in several State legislatures, the following is quoted :

" But of all the participants in this affair Thomas was most conspicuous and most remarkable. He was almost entirely without education, but was gifted with great good sense, a bold and honest soul and a remarkable natural eloquence. His manner was always natural and genial, never, under any circumstances, embarrassed or affected, and in whatever company he was thrown, or however much a stranger to the company, somehow he became the conspicuous man in a short time. The character in his face, the flash of his eye, the remarkable self-possession, the natural dignity of deportment and his great good sense attracted and won every one. In all his transactions he was the same plain, honest man, never, under any circumstances, deviating from truth—plain, unvarnished truth; rigidly stern in morals but eminently charitable to the shortcomings of others. He was, from childhood, reared in a new country, amid rude, uncultivated people, and was a noble specimen of a frontier man; without the amenities of cultivated life, or the polish of education, yet with all the virtues of the Christian heart, and these, perhaps, the more prominently because of the absence of the others. It was frequently remarked by him that he did not think education would have been of any advantage to him. It enabled men, with pretty words, to hide their thoughts and deceive their fellow-men with a grace and ease he despised, and it might have acted so with him, but would have made him a worse and a more unhappy man. He now never did or said anything that he was ashamed to think of. He did not want to conceal his feelings and opinions, because he did not know how to do it, and he was sure if he attempted it he should make a fool of himself, for lies required so much dressing up in pretty words to make them look like truth that he should fail for want of words, and truth was always prettiest when naked. In the main the General was correct, but there are some who lie with a naivete so perfect that even he would have deemed it truth naked and unadorned."

From an old resident of Baton Rouge, now living, it is learned that Thomas kept a grocery, whereon hung a sign advertising "*Coughphy for sail*," and other similar specimens of his crude education have been given. In the old State House a tablet was erected to his memory, but was broken by the fire in 1862 and its pieces have been kept as souvenirs by many of the inhabitants of Baton Rouge. The inscription on the tablet has not been ascertained. There now hangs in the Senate chamber a handsome portrait of the general, for such he became in the war of 1812. His opponent, Grand-

pré, as has already been shown, was a younger man, but none the less a brave soldier. One of his necrologists, for there were several, said: "Il est mort avec le calme et la sérénité d'une grande âme, et ses derniers moments ont mis le sceau à la noblesse de son caractère. Quelque profond que dût-être dans un coeur aussi généreux que le sien, le souvenir des persécutions atroces que son respectable père venait d'essuyer au service espagnol, il parait oublier qu'elles avaient empoisonné et sans doute avancé le terme de ses jours; il n'écoute que la voix de l'honneur, et ce valeureux Créole voulut prouver par ce noble dévouement que les hommes de son sang n'avaient jamais su ni intriguer, ni trahir, mais qu'ils savaient pardonner, combattre et périr pour la défense de la cause qu'ils avaient embrassée."

About the personality of this young soldier has shone the light of glory and of romance, for something more tangible than tradition relates the differences of opinion existing between him and his superior, Delassus, and his warnings to this latter form a chapter of prudence scarce to be credited to his twenty-three years.

De Grandpré was in love, and if this love was not reciprocal, then the inference to be drawn from a telepathy in dream-land, from an agony of suffering and sorrow, from a life-long celibacy, falls without value. His lady-love, Joséphine by name, lived in the American territory and her people, high-standing Creoles of noble ancestry like himself, were of American allegiance.

Frequent, therefore, were his visits across the river only a few miles above his post, nearly opposite the village of Monte Sano, and there at her father's house, standing to this day intact beneath the shades of towering oak and pecan trees, was the trysting place. A young woman brilliant in intellectual and artistic requirements, beautiful in face and form, an angel in love and sympathy—these were his lofty aspirations. There, surrounded by his dearest and fondest hopes, the evening of the 22d of September was passed. He very frequently remained over night, and the parents of the young lady insisted very much that this should be no exception to

the rule, but he declared the state of the country to be such, that if anything occurred in his absence he could never forgive himself an apparent neglect of duty. The young woman commended him and figuratively buckled his armor for the approaching strife, and soon from his gliding boat he waved her his last adieux.

The family retired for the night, but in the early morning were suddenly awakened by cries from Josephine's room. All rushed to her immediately, making vain attempts to discover the cause of her despair. She grew hysterical and it was some moments before she could tell of a dream she had, wherein she saw troops attacking the fort in Baton Rouge on horseback. She saw Grandpré defending the place alone, she saw him mortally wounded, and she saw him dying. She must go to him and nothing could dissuade her. Finally, her father and brother were persuaded to take her to him. They embarked in a skiff for that purpose and on reaching the town she had her dream confirmed.

She never left him until the grave closed over his mortal remains, and she lived a single life—wedded only to her art, her brush and her pencil—until prematurely called to answer the summons from above.

The death of Grandpré was considered by the convention sitting as a public calamity, and this body not only wore his mourning, but did all the honors possible to his memory and gave public evidences of their appreciation of his virtues, talents and valor, while the papers published his praises in these lines:

“ Un seul trépas ternit votre victoire
 En y mêlant la plus juste douleur.
 Louis de Grandpré, guidé par sa valeur,
 De blessures courbé, tombe couvert de gloire.
 Jeune héros, que ce beau dévouement
 Jette d'éclat sur ton dernier moment!
 Au milieu des regrets qu'on donne à ta mémoire,
 On ne peut s'empêcher d'envier ton trépas,
 Modèle de l'honneur tu vivras dans l'histoire
 Entre Jumonville et d'Assas.”

THE CAPTURE OF FORT CHARLOTTE, MOBILE.

By WILLIAM BEER, Librarian of the Howard Library.

On inquiry at the Record Office in London in July, 1895, I found that under the heading Colonial Records there existed in thirteen volumes a complete series of documents relative to the history of the British colony of West Florida. I made a few notes, among which the more interesting related to the taking of Fort Charlotte, Mobile, by Galvez.

Gayarré states that subsequent to the capture of Baton Rouge "on the 5th of February, 1780, Galvez sailed from the Balize with 2000 men, composed of regulars, of the militia of the colony, and of some companies of free blacks." In the Gulf he was overtaken by a storm, which crippled some of his vessels. After some delay Galvez succeeded in landing his army on the eastern point of Mobile river, but in such confusion that had Gen. Campbell, who was at Pensacola, marched immediately against them he might have secured an easy victory. For this Galvez had made provision, but learning from his spies that the English showed no sign of sallying from Pensacola he decided to attack Fort Charlotte.

After the summons to surrender and the reception of Captain Durnford's reply sea batteries were erected, and a breach having been made in the fort its commander capitulated.

In illustration of this I read the following letters:

A LA POINTE DES CHAKTO, }
le 1 Mars, 1780. }

MONSIEUR—Si j'avais moins de deux mille hommes à mes ordres, et si vous aviez plus de cent soldats et quelques matelots, je ne vous ferais pas la proposition de vous rendre, mais la grande inégalité des forces nous met dans le cas—vous de céder immédiatement ou moi de vous faire subir toutes les extrémités de la guerre, si une résistance inutile et déplacée irrite la patience de mes troupes, trop ennuyées par quelques contretemps. Aujourd'hui je suis prêt à vous accorder une capitulation régulière et conforme aux circonstances—demain peut-être il n'y aura plus d'autre parti pour vous que le

repentir infructueux de n'avoir pas accepté ma proposition en faveur des malheureux qui sont sous votre commandement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur,

(Signed)

B. DE GALVEZ.

Au Capitaine Durnford, Fort Charlotte, Mobile.

FORT CHARLOTTE, Mobile, 1 March, 1780.

SIR—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's summons to surrender immediately the Fort to your Excellency's superior forces.

The differences of number, I am convinced, are greatly in your favor, sir, but mine are much beyond your Excellency's conception, and was I to give up this Fort on your demand I should be regarded as a traitor to my king and country. My love for both, and my own honor, direct my heart to refuse surrendering this Fort until I am under conviction that resistance is in vain.

The generosity of your Excellency's mind is well known to my brother officers and soldiers, and should it be my misfortune to be added to their number (*sic*) a heart full of generosity and valor will ever consider brave men fighting for their country as objects of esteem and not revenge. I have the honor to be, etc.

(Signed)

ELIAS DURNFORD.

Gov. D. B. de Galvez.

FORT CHARLOTTE, Mobile, 14th March, 1780.

Gen. Campbell:

SIR—It is my misfortune to inform you that this morning my small but brave garrison marched down the breach, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war to General Bernardo de Galvez' superior arms. I write for your information, and request you will do me the favor to inform Mrs. Durnford that I am in good health, and that she ought to be under no uneasiness at my fate. When it is in my power to send you the capitulation and state preceding it for a few days, will do it; in the meantime I assure you, sir, that no man in the garrison hath stained the lustre of the British arms.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed)

ELIAS DURNFORD.

The number by return of killed, wounded and prisoners,
304.

MOBILE, 2d March, 1780.

SIR—Soon after I sent Land Express a flag was perceived in the wood, and I sent an officer to receive it at some distance. This, as I expected, was a summons to surrender to Don Bernardo de Galvez' Superior Forces—a copy of which you have inclosed with my answer thereto. The Flag was brought in Person by an old acquaintance, Colonel Bolyny, who sent me a polite card, wishing for the pleasure of an interview if possible, and Profession of Friendship, although we were National enemies: on which I sent Mr. Barde to conduct him into the Fort with the customary ceremony, where he dined and continued until near five o'clock, drinking a cheerful Glass to the healths of our King and Friends.

During our conversation I found that the Report of the Shipwreck was true; he acknowledged that they had undergone great hardships, but would not allow to have lost any men, and informed me that they were about 2500 men, but by trusty Indians who were sent by me into the camp in the morning, I learned that a great number were negroes and mulattoes, and that they had landed no cannon. Bolyny confirmed that we had cut the cable and just hit the Row Galley—but we are certain that three nine Pounders shot hit her, and as she is gone off I suspect she is well mauled, for yesterday morning she was seen opposite the Chactaws on a heal (*sic*), and I suppose is gone to Dog River to repair the damage received from our shot. As soon as Colonel Bolyny left me I drew up my Garrison in the square, read to them Don Galvez' summons, and then told them that if any man among them was afraid to stand by me, that I should open the gate and he should freely pass. This had the desired effect, and not a man moved. I then read to them my answer to the summons, in which they all joined in three cheers and then went to our necessary work like good men.

I really believe their (the enemy's) force is greatly magnified.

I am,

(Signed)

ELIAS DURNFORD.

GENERAL CAMPBELL—Your great good news hath just arrived. I thank you, dear Sir, for the consolation it affords me. I need not say that I will defend Fort to the last extremity. The vessels I can see from this are in the mouth of the East Pass about two miles distant from the Fort. And the Galvez Brig is one and Picklers' Florida the other. Near to the Dog River are five ships or Pollacas, and I am in-

formed that three or four are in Dog River besides the Row Galley. I am, etc.,

(Signed)

ELIAS DURNFORD.

4 o'clock afternoon.

LIST OF ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES ON THE HISTORY OF THE
BRITISH PROVINCE OF WEST FLORIDA, IN THE RECORD
OFFICE, LONDON.*

A. America and West Indies.

252.	1764-1765.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Geo. Johnson.
253.	1765-1766.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Geo. Johnson.
254.	1766-1767.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Geo. Johnson and Lieut. Gov. Montford Browne.
255.	1767-1768.....	West Florida.....	Lieut. Gov. Browne.
256.	1768-1769.....	West Florida.....	Lieut. Gov. Browne.
257.	1769-1770.....	West Florida.....	Lieut. Gov. Browne and Lieut. Gov. Elias Durnford.
258.	1770-1771.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
259.	1771-1772.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
260.	1772-1773.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
261.	1773-1774.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
262.	1774-1776.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
263.	1776-1777.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
264.	1777-1778.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
265.	1778-1780.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
266.	1780-1781.....	West Florida.....	Gov. Peter Chester.
267.	1778-1781.....	West Florida.....	Military; Brigadier, afterward Maj. Gen. Campbell.
331.	1766, Sept. 22, to 1767, June 20.....	West Florida.....	No. 1.
332.	1766, Sept. 26, to 1770, July 14.....	West Florida.....	No. 1.
333.	1770, Sept. 24, to 1777, Dec. 25.....	West Florida.....	No. 2.
334.	1776, Dec. 26, to 1781, July 2.....	West Florida.....	No. 3.
438.	1768, Feb. 14, to 1781, March 7.....	West Florida.....	Entry Book A.
533.	1702 to 1782.....	Floridas.	

B. Board of Trade. Acts.

102.	1766 to 1771.....	Florida, West.....	Nos. 1 to 46.
------	-------------------	--------------------	---------------

*It is well known that the British government is publishing very complete calendars of the state papers preserved in the record office in Fetter Lane, London. During my visit to London I hoped to find that the period 1760-1780 had been reached, in order to examine the documents relating to West Florida. I was informed by Mr. Maxwell Lyte, the present head of the record office, that it was little likely that this period would be reached for several generations, since the quantities of state papers for the years following 1650 are so enormous in comparison with those of earlier dates. The superintendent of the search room was good enough to furnish a manuscript list of the West Florida papers, which is given above.

THE DEFENCES OF NEW ORLEANS IN 1797.

[Translated by J. W. Cruzat from the Original Spanish Document in His Possession.]

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS IN CASE OF ALARM OR ATTACK ON THE CITY.

BRIGADIER GENERAL DON DIEGO DE LAZAGA, Commander.

FORT ST. CHARLES.

DON PEDRO ENRIQUE, Officer of Artillery, Commander.

All the artillerists of the Royal Corps, less four. Reinforcements of headquarters: Sixty men from both the corps of Mexico and Louisiana. Total, sixty and thirty prisoners.

HEADQUARTERS.

COLONEL FRANCISCO BOULIGNY, Commanding.

Four artillerists for the battalion pieces and all other troops not otherwise assigned for this position; also the remaining prisoners unemployed at St. Charles and the park.

Should there be cause for the troops to abandon the headquarters they will pass in the rear and camp between the house of Sign* and the fort.

They will immediately raise a breastwork around the said house, behind which will be placed a detachment of forty men, also another of fifteen in the mill of Mr. Sign, in order to preserve communication with Fort St. Charles.

ARTILLERY PARK.

The Commander of Artillery, DON CARLOS DAUNOY, Commanding.

Twelve men from the regulars, commanded by an inferior officer, and twenty prisoners.

GALLEYS, GUNBOATS.

The galleys and light gunboats will station themselves near the Park Battery, in order to remove immediately, with whatever boats may be found, from the stores all arms, ammuni-

* This Mr. Sign was probably Lorenzo Signur, whose plantation near Fort St. Charles was sold to Peter de Marigny, December 18, 1798. See Trudeau's map of 1798.

tion and provisions, transporting the whole to the house of Sigu, and this task accomplished, they will maintain themselves under cover of the fire from Fort St. Charles.

TREASURY.

The treasury will also be transferred to the house of Sigu, the roof of which will be lowered to avoid fire.

POWDER MAGAZINE.

All the powder which is on the other side of the river shall be transported to this side and placed in the powder magazine of Fort St. Charles, which will be covered with heavy beams and breastworks on all sides, as also the provisions of said fort. This magazine will furnish all the provisions of the city.

TOOLS AND ARMS.

All tools, such as spades, hoes and pick-axes necessary to raise breastworks will be transferred by the prisoners, together with the arms from the armory and headquarters, to the house of Sigu.

REDOUBT ST. JOHN.

Commander, LIEUTENANT COLONEL DON MANUEL PEREZ.

The company of grenadiers from the battalion of militia commanded by Don Francisco Riano; fifty mulattoes commanded by their captain, Francisco Dorville; twenty artillerymen from the militia, commanded by their captain, Don Miguel Fortier.

Having sufficient forces, the house and pigeon-house of Tremé will be occupied to defend the battery which will be established under the protection of the pigeon-house.

RAMPART ST. JOHN.

The first half of the third company of the battalion of militia commanded by its captain, Don Juan Durel;

Thirty negroes commanded by their first lieutenant, Pedro Thomas;

Ten artillerists commanded by Don Francisco Durel.

The whole under the orders of Don Manuel Perez, who will command also half of the palisades, right and left, between the forts.

FORT ST. FERDINAND.

Commander, Captain of the Regiment of Regulars, DON IGNATIO

CHALMET DE LINO.

The half company of the battalion of militia, commanded by its captain, Don Miguel Roig.

Fifty men from the company of free negroes, commanded by its captain, Noel Cariere.

A corporal and twenty artillerists of militia, commanded by the second lieutenant, Don Pablo Darcantel.

The half of the palisades between the forts to the right and left to remain equally under his orders.

FORT BURGUNDY.

Colonel of Militia, DON ANDRES ALMONESTER, Commander.

The second half of the second company of the regiment of militia, commanded by Don Antonio Griffon and Don Cristoval de Armas.

Forty men of the company of free mulattoes, commanded by its captain, Carlos Simon.

Sixteen artillerists of the militia, commanded by its first lieutenant, Don Julian Vienne.

The ramparts between Forts Burgundy and St. Ferdinand, and also one-half of the palisades between the ramparts, right and left, will also remain under his orders.

RAMPART BURGUNDY.

The first half of the second company, commanded by Captain Don Antonio Argote, a sergeant and six artillerists from the company of militia.

FORT ST. LOUIS.

Commander, DON GILBERTO ANDRY, Captain of Regulars.

The second half of the first company of the battalion of militia, commanded by Don Lorenzo Wiltz.

Twenty-five men of the company of free mulattoes, commanded by the first lieutenant.

A corporal and fifteen men of the company of artillery of the militia.

With sufficient forces the house of Don Josef Hevia will be occupied, after having lowered its roof and loopholed the walls for the fusiliers.

The fortifications between Forts Burgundy and St. Louis will remain under his orders, as also half of the palisades between the mentioned fort and the rampart.

RAMPART ST. LOUIS.

The first half of the first company of the battalion of militia commanded by Don Pedro Laroche.

A sergeant and six artillerists of the company of militia.

The second half of the third company of militia, commanded by Don Ursino Durel, and in case of his absence, by Don Vizente LeSassier and Don Louis Awart.

RAMPART ST. CHARLES.

A sergeant and six artillerists of the company of militia.

One-half of the palisades, between Fort St. Charles and the rampart, will remain under his orders.

PALISADES.

The palisades between the forts will be garrisoned by the neighbors not already enlisted in the different corps of the city, and to avoid all confusion they will be distributed as follows:

The neighbors of the First District to the palisades between Forts St. Charles and St. John.

The neighbors of the Second District to those between St. Louis and Burgundy.

The neighbors of the Third District to the palisades between the Fort St. John and St. Ferdinand.

The neighbors of the last district to the palisades between St. Ferdinand and Burgundy.

The Dragoons of Louisiana will follow the general.

CAVALRY.

The dragoons of Mexico will form in battle line to the right of the two companies of carbineers, in the square, in front of the Charity Hospital; the company of St. John forming the centre of both corps. They will charge together with greatest speed the enemy whenever they attempt to penetrate within the fortification, without allowing them time to reform themselves before entering the streets.

SIGNAL OF ALARM.

Three consecutive cannon shots from Fort St. Charles, with the flag of the navy flying during the day, or a lantern, if at night, will constitute the signal of alarm or attack.

SIGNAL TO WITHDRAW TO FORT ST. CHARLES.

Three consecutive cannon shots, with a white flag flying from any fort, if during the day, or three lanterns, if at night, will be the signal for all troops to withdraw to Fort St. Charles, after having disabled the guns.

SIGNAL TO EVACUATE THE PARK AND MAGAZINE.

One cannon shot and a white flag under the marine flag from Fort St. Charles will be the signal to evacuate the Artillery Park and the magazines.

(Signed)

THE BARON DE CARONDELET.

New Orleans, June 5, 1797.

P. S.—The major of the garrison, immediately after the signal of alarm or attack, will call around at each post of the city, beginning with Fort St. John and others, including Fort St. Louis, to verify if everything is in order in each, reporting to the general, through an orderly, all news and errors which he may discover.

LETTER FROM GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,
DATED FROM MONTPELIER, ALA., MAY 19, 1821, BEFORE PRO-
CEEDING TO PENSACOLA, TO RECEIVE FROM THE SPANISH
GOVERNMENT THE PROVINCE OF FLORIDA, WHEREOF HE
HAD BEEN APPOINTED GOVERNOR BY PRESIDENT MONROE.

It had long been the intention of General Jackson to resign his commission in the army as soon as the differences with Spain should have been brought to a peaceful conclusion.

An important reduction in the army, long contemplated, was effected in the spring of 1821, and left the general without an adequate command.

Mr. Monroe, then president, promptly appointed him to the governorship of Florida, as well as to the office of commissioner to receive the province from the hands of the Spanish officials. Col. James G. Forbes, the marshal appointed by the president, was dispatched to Havana in the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, to receive from the Governor General of Cuba and convey to the Governor of Florida the requisite order for the surrender of the province and its forts to the American commissioner. By the terms of the treaty, the province was to be given up six months after the final ratification of the treaty, "or sooner, if possible." The Spanish garrison was to be conveyed to Cuba at the expense of the United States.

General Jackson accepted the appointment.

From Montpelier in Alabama he wrote the following communication to his old comrade in arms, Gen. Morgan, then at his home in Madisonville, La. :

MONTPELIER, May 19, 1821.

DEAR SIR—I have just received your letter of the 9th inst., and much regret that I had not the pleasure of seeing you in Orleans. I hope, however, that I shall soon have this pleasure in Pensacola, inasmuch as I received favorable intelligence last night that the Spanish agents promise a quick surrender of the Floridas.

The Hornet is probably at Pensacola, and in ten days we may calculate upon moving from this place.

The possession of the country, however, depending upon the tardy ceremony of exchange, puts it out of my power to inform you the precise time of our acception. We may presume, though, to say in fifteen days.

Upon my arrival at Pensacola I shall give you further information, and in the meantime remain your obedient servant,

ANDREW JACKSON.*

David B. Morgan, Esq.

But at length, on the 17th July, all preliminaries having been settled, the long expected ceremony took place at Pensacola, and Florida became a Territory of the United States, after a twenty years' negotiation with Spain.

WM. H. SEYMOUR.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED BY LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TO FEBRUARY, 1896.

Smithsonian Reports for 1893-94, two volumes.

Smithsonian Bulletin, No. 48.

First Biennial Report Iowa Historical Society, one volume.

Report of Iowa Law-Makers' Association, reunion of 1894,
Vol. I.

Wisconsin Historical Society, proceedings, one volume.

"Das Redemption System in Louisiana," by J. Hanno
Deiler; from the author; one pamphlet.

Annals of Iowa, Vol. I, No. 7.

Report of Committee of Historians from Michigan His-
torical Society, one volume.

"New Found Journal of Charles Floyd;" from the au-
thor, James D. Butler; one volume.

"The Pilgrim Fathers in Holland;" from the author, Dr.
William C. Winslow; one volume.

"Material Relating to History of Iowa," by B. F. Sham-
baugh; one volume.

*The original of this letter is now in Judge Wm. H. Seymour's posses-
sion.—EDITORS.

Publications of Cayuga County Historical Society, one volume.

"The Original Indiana Territory," by V. A. Lewis; one volume.

Biennial Report of Minnesota Historical Society, one volume.

Publications of Minnesota Historical Society, Vol. VI, part I.

Publications of Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. II, No. 4.

Johns Hopkins University Studies, series 13.

Proceedings of Nebraska Historical Society, one volume.

Publications of Society of Antiquities, Stockholm, one volume.

"Louisiana; Heim für Deutsche Ansiedler," from author, Prof. J. Hanno Deiler; one volume.

History of St. Louis, donated by Prof. James H. Dillard.

Publications of Rhode Island Historical Society, Vol. III, No. 4.

"Descendants of Mordecai Cooke;" from the author, Prof. William C. Stubbs.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

Vol. 1. Part IV.

1896.

NEW ORLEANS.
L. Graham & Son, Ltd., Printers, 207-211 Baronne St.
1896.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Since the last publication of the Louisiana Historical Society (February, 1896) the roll of membership has been largely increased, and many interesting papers have been presented at the monthly meetings. The publication committee believes that the following extracts from the minutes of the secretary will prove interesting to the members and to the general public

TULANE HALL, February 19, 1896.

The Louisiana Historical Society met in regular monthly session on the above date at 7:30 P. M., President Fortier in the chair, and Secretary Ficklen at the desk. The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved. The secretary stated that some publications had been received from the Society of Belles Lettres, History and Antiquities in Stockholm, Sweden, with a request from Dr. Blomberg, the secretary, that the Louisiana Historical Society exchange publications. It was decided that the Swedish society be placed on our exchange list.

Some discussion then arose on the old subject of the confusion existing in the public mind as to the difference between the Louisiana Historical Society and the Louisiana Historical Association. It was thought advisable for the president to appoint a committee to wait upon the officers of the Historical Association and beg them to change the name of that society. It was urged that this would not be an unreasonable request, as our society had adopted its title some forty years before the other name was chosen.

President Fortier presented to the society a copy of the *Plantation Journal* of his distinguished ancestor, Valcour Aime, who was among the first, if not the first, to refine sugar in Louisiana.

Mr. Favrot then moved that we emphasize our position as a

State institution by making a formal report of our work to the Governor and the Legislature, and thus try to secure an appropriation suitable to our needs. This motion was carried with enthusiasm.

The president then introduced Mrs. M. E. M. Davis, who had consented to read some extracts from her forthcoming History of Texas. Mrs. Davis' contribution was the event of the evening. Her audience listened to her with great interest as she described the early connection between Louisiana and Texas history as exemplified in the careers of La Salle and St. Denis. Mrs. Davis followed this by a description of life in the little fort built by La Salle on Matagorda bay, and of the ill-fated expedition which led to the death of La Salle himself. Other interesting events in early Texas were recounted with a charming simplicity of style. After this Mrs. Davis read to the society one of her exquisite little poems, describing the brave deeds of Hal Ripley, a young Texas hero. A vote of thanks to Mrs. Davis was carried unanimously.

The annual election of officers was then held. All the officers of the previous year were re-elected without opposition.

President, Alcée Fortier.

Vice President, Miss Grace King.

Second Vice President, Dr. Gustave Devron.

Secretary and Treasurer, John R. Ficklen.

Assistant Secretary, J. H. Rapp.

The President then appointed the following committees:

On Work and Archives—Miss King, Dr. Devron and Mr. Favrot.

On Finance—Messrs. Cruzat, Quintero and Livaudais.

On Membership—Messrs. Favrot, Preot and Breaux.

It was moved and carried that the distinguished historian, Mr. John Fiske, should be invited to address the society at its next meeting.

MEETING OF MARCH 8, 1896.

The society held a called meeting on the above date to listen to a lecture by the eminent historian, Mr. John Fiske. The

public was invited and there was a good audience present. Mr. Fiske took as his subject the career of Governor Jacob Leisler, of New York. In a profoundly interesting lecture, he drew a picture of the times in which Leisler flourished, and traced in a masterly way the events that led to his overthrow and death. At the close of the lecture the speaker was greeted with hearty applause and congratulations.

MEETING OF APRIL 15, 1896.

The society met at the usual hour, but the attendance, owing to the political excitement, was small; and as Mr. Beer, the regular lecturer, had an engagement at 8:30, very little business was transacted.

In accordance with the provisions of the constitution, the secretary gave notice that at the next meeting he would propose an amendment to the constitution, separating the office of secretary from that of treasurer.

MEETING OF MAY 20, 1896.

After the reading of the minutes, Mr. Wm. Beer, in behalf of the committee appointed to investigate old records found in the Custom House, reported failure. After investigation, he believed that there were no papers among them of any value to the society.

The society then considered the amendment to the Constitution proposed at the last meeting, creating the office of treasurer, as distinct from that of secretary. The amendment was duly ratified, and Mr. J. W. Cruzat was unanimously elected treasurer of the society. As this election made vacant the chairmanship of the finance committee, Mr. Alfred Livandais was appointed to that position, and Mr. Edgar Grima was added to the same committee.

The president read a communication from Mr. James S. Zacharie urging the society to join him in framing a legislative act to convert the Cabildo and the present District Court building into a State museum for the preservation of relics

and natural history specimens. After some discussion, Dr. Devron said that the society should take no action in the matter as long as these buildings were occupied by the courts. Mr. Grima declared himself in favor of a museum without reference to the court buildings; but as Mr. Zacharie's proposition did not cover this point, it was finally decided to inform him that the society did not think it wise to join him in going before the Legislature.

The paper of the evening was read by Dr. Edmond Souchon. It was a touching and eloquent tribute to the eminent surgeon, Dr. T. G. Richardson. The members present listened with profound interest to this paper and voted to the lecturer the thanks of the society.

Dr. Souchon kindly promised the society several copies of his paper as soon as it should be published in the *Medical Journal*, to which he had promised it.

The president presented to the society some interesting notarial acts dating back to colonial days, which had been donated by Mr. A. A. Woods.

Mr. Beer stated that at a recent sale of Judge Tissot's library, the New Orleans bookseller, Delgado, had purchased a valuable work by Moreau St. Mary, which contains facts about Louisiana history.

The question of petitioning the Legislature for aid to the society was then discussed.

Colonel Hill suggested that the Executive Committee be requested to frame an act similar to that of other States. This proposition was received with approval, and Colonel Hill was requested to lend a helping hand.

Mr. Beer spoke feelingly of the large sums received from the State by the historical societies of Wisconsin and Kansas, and thought we ought to profit by their example. Mr. Beer further stated that the Secretary of State ought to have his attention called to the condition of books in the State library.

Miss King read the copy of a letter written by an ancestor of Mrs. H. D. Forsyth, and donated to the society by that lady. It contained some interesting details concerning Jack-

son's campaign in Louisiana, especially in regard to the destruction of the war vessel *Carolina*, which took part in the preliminary fight of December 23, 1814. The writer's account was of special interest, as he himself saw military service at this period.

MEETING OF JUNE 10, 1896.

After the reading of the minutes President Fortier read a letter received by him from the Maryland Historical Society asking for information in regard to Chevalier Charles Adrien le Palmier d'Annemours. The question was referred for investigation to Mr. Ernest Florance, who was present.

The society then passed a vote of thanks to Mr. Armand Hawkins for the *fac simile* of a letter written in 1804 by Laussat, who was the French commissioner at the time of the transfer of Louisiana from France to the American government.

Mr. Wm. Beer entertained the society with an interesting paper on Oliver Pollock, whose career was closely connected with the early history of Louisiana. Mr. Beer drew a parallel between Pollock and O'Reilly, the famous—or infamous—Spanish governor. They were both Irishmen who rose to important positions, one in the United States, the other in Spain. Mr. Beer further read a letter from Mr. Hayden, who had written a sketch of Pollock's life. Mr. Hayden promised to send his sketch.

Mr. Beer received the thanks of the society for his contribution.

The secretary read a letter from Dr. McGowan, of Pennsylvania, asking for information in regard to some troops and cannon removed from Fort Du Quesne and supposed to have been brought to New Orleans. The secretary stated that he had investigated the subject and furnished Dr. McGowan with all the information he could find.

Prof. George Beyer then read a preliminary paper on the artificial mounds recently discovered in Catahoula parish. The professor thought these mounds ought to be investigated

in a scientific manner. The articles found had been promised, he said, to the Museum of Tulane University. He thought the society should aid as far as possible in carrying on the work. Judge Howe moved that the society co-operate with Professor Beyer in the matter by appointing the professor a special committee to investigate the mounds and by subscribing ten dollars. Adopted.

Mr. A. Livaudais, who felt an interest in such investigations, said that he would add five dollars to the fund.

Judge Howe, at the request of the society, discussed the possibility of obtaining pecuniary aid from the General Assembly for the benefit of the society. He said the only constitutional means would be to have the Secretary of State add an item (\$250) to the general appropriation bill, which sum should be devoted to printing the publications of the society. The secretary moved that a copy of such an addition to the appropriation bill, drawn up in legal form by Judge Howe, should be forwarded to the Secretary of State, with a request that he should report favorably thereon. Adopted.

The thanks of the society were voted to Judge W. H. Seymour for the donation of a copy of his work entitled "*The Story of Algiers.*"

Mr. Rightor inquired whether it would not be wise for the society to try to secure copies of old newspapers published in the State. Mr. Beer discussed the subject, speaking especially of the *Moniteur de la Louisiane*. He said the paper was first published in 1794, but the earliest copy in the City Hall is of 1804. He believed that no copy of an earlier date than 1802 exists. Mr. J. W. Cruzat, however, has subsequently discovered a copy published in 1794.

MEETING OF OCTOBER 21 1896

After the reading of the minutes, Mr. J. W. Cruzat, treasurer of the society, presented his report, which showed a balance on hand, October 12, 1896, of \$183.14. Mr. Cruzat suggested that henceforth no application for membership in the society be entertained, unless the same be made in writing

and endorsed by two members in good standing. Both the report of the treasurer and his suggestion were unanimously adopted.

The paper of the evening was read by Prof. George E. Beyer, of Tulane University. His subject was, "The Investigation of Certain Indian Mounds in Louisiana." The professor stated that under instructions from Tulane University and the Louisiana Historical Society, he had visited not only the mounds of Catahoula parish, but also several groups in other parishes. The interesting and valuable paper that he read contained the result of his investigations, and was accompanied by excellent drawings, illustrating the conformation of the mounds themselves and the objects found therein. The professor received the thanks of the society for his able contribution to the history of the State. As his paper will appear in the publications of the society it will be unnecessary to give any further account of its contents.

After the reading of the paper the president invited discussion. Dr. Devron discussed the cause of the extraordinary thickness of a skull taken from one of the mounds, saying that he noticed that it had a fissure, and that such fissures often caused a disease which resulted in a thickening of the skull. He further stated that he did not consider that a certain other skull referred to by the professor was sufficient to constitute a type. It might be a freak.

Professor Beyer answered in a spirited manner that the fissure referred to was a break, and that he himself had pasted the fragments together. As to one skull constituting a type, he remarked that he had found not one, but several skulls of the same type, all of which he would be happy to show at the Tulane Museum.

Prof. John M. Ordway, being called upon, stated that he had seen the skulls referred to, and that he agreed with Professor Beyer as to their extraordinary character.

Mr. B. R. Forman inquired whether the mounds were grouped in rectangular form. Professor Beyer answered that those he visited were for the most part in semi-circular relation, but that many of them were isolated.

Mr. Favrot said that he knew of some interesting mounds in East Baton Rouge parish, and that Dr. Jones had investigated some of them.

Mr. Forman said that Mr. Douglas Montan, recently deceased, had investigated some mounds, and had left some valuable manuscript on the subject. Mr. Forman was asked to co-operate with the secretary in trying to obtain for the society some of these manuscripts from Mrs. Harper, the legatee of Mr. Montan.

Dr. Devron exhibited to the society a copy of the will of the last of the Montezumas, who died in New Orleans about 1834. It showed that the distinguished scion of the royal family died overwhelmed with debts.

Mr. Beer asked information about a French consul named Toussard, who had once been stationed in New Orleans. Messrs. Cruzat and Favrot both gave him some information.

Mr. Beer also stated that he had seen in a Northern library a sheet of the periodical called *l'Eclipse*, supposed to have been printed in New Orleans in 1769, and that in the Boston Public Library there was a proclamation of Marshal Victor, whom Napoleon intended to send to Louisiana, but who never came.

The name of Hon. Theodore Roosevelt was proposed for honorary membership, and he was duly elected.

President Fortier presented to the society a photograph of Father Turgis, the soldier priest of Louisiana, with his autograph.

MEETING OF NOVEMBER 18, 1896.

After the reading of the minutes the secretary reported that he had received a letter from Mrs. Harper, a sister of the late Mr. Douglas Montan. Mrs. Harper wrote that she had instructed her lawyer, Mr. T. J. Kernan, to send to the society such historical papers as had been left by Mr. Montan. The secretary was instructed to write to Mr. Kernan in case he was not heard from.

President Fortier entertained the society by translating a valuable French document, published at Cap François, and

giving an account of the great fire of 1788 in New Orleans. It contained a thrilling description of this great disaster, written by a contemporary. It stated that eight hundred and fifty-six houses were burned in five hours, and that all the commercial houses of the little city, except three, were destroyed. The total loss was three millions of dollars. The horror of the scene was intensified by the presence of robbers, who carried off much of the property that was exposed. Fortunately there was no loss of life, nor was there any limit to private charities in behalf of the unfortunates.

After reading this interesting paper, the president said he hoped to obtain from an old family a document of 1793, written by a Louisianian, and giving a description of the Reign of Terror.

The president then read some extracts from one of his lectures, which gave an account of the founding of New Orleans. He apologized for reading a lecture that had already been delivered before the Catholic Winter School, saying that there was no one else who had prepared a paper for the meeting.

Taking up his manuscript the president stated that great injustice had been done to John Law, in his connection with the early history of Louisiana. It was true that John Law's scheme had failed, but not for want of great efforts on his part.

Turning to the origin of the name *Orleans*, the president stated that it was derived from *Aurelianus*, the name of an ancient town in France. It is generally masculine in French, but was made feminine in Louisiana. President Fortier then described the early settlement at Biloxi, and quoted from the report of the engineer, Latour, an account of the laying out of New Orleans in 1722. Just here Miss King stated that another engineer, named Pauger, had previously laid out the town in 1718, and that Latour had been jealous of Pauger's work. This gave rise to some discussion as to the part that each engineer had played in the laying out of the city.

The president, continuing his paper, gave other interesting details about the settlement of New Orleans, which he had drawn from original documents. His paper was highly enjoyed by the society.

President Fortier said that it was not possible to have an original paper at each meeting, but that we must invite our members to study the history of the State with us, and present papers founded upon original documents in our possession.

A letter was read from Mr. J. W. Cruzat, stating that Mr. W. H. Wilson had given the society permission to publish a *fac simile* of the copy of the *Moniteur* of 1794. His offer was gratefully accepted. (It will be found in this publication.)

President Fortier said that there were interesting mounds in his native parish of St. James, but he did not know that they had been explored. Professor Beyer said that there were also many remarkable shell mounds on the Metairie Road and elsewhere that had never been excavated.

Judge W. H. Seymour said that during a recent visit to Wisconsin he had heard a paper by Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites on the mounds of Wisconsin, in which Mr. Thwaites had stated that the mounds of that State were similar to those of Louisiana. The judge added that Mr. Thwaites' paper was read at about the same date as Professor Beyer's recent paper before our society.

THE MOUNDS OF LOUISIANA.

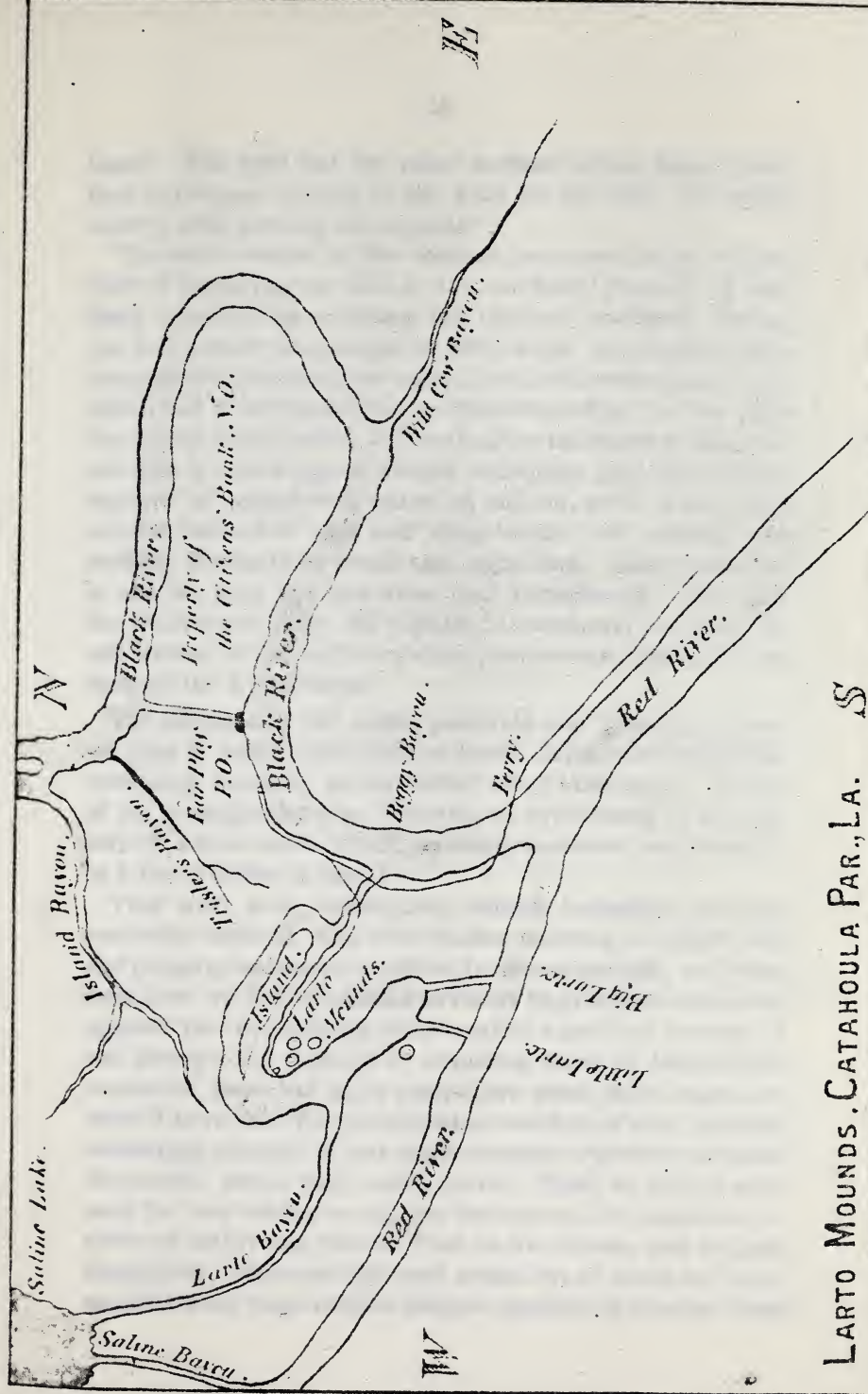
By PROF. GEORGE E. BEYER, Tulane University

I.

THE LARTO GROUP.

According to instructions received from the Museum Department of Tulane University, and the Louisiana Historical Society, I proceeded, on June 26, to investigate the so-called Catahoula Mounds. That title, by the way, I found to include far more than I had supposed; for, as I ascertained afterward, the entire parish is pretty well studded with the ancient dwelling-places of past races.

On the morning of my arrival at Fair Play Landing, I found quite a number of gentlemen ready to accompany me to the mounds. These were very nearly ten miles distant, and situated on the banks of the horseshoe-shaped Lake



Larto. The road led for some distance along Black river, then out across country to the head of the lake, but ended shortly after passing the mounds.

The entire section of the country from the shores of the Gulf of Mexico to the hills in the northern portions of this State is subject to overflows, the last one occurring during the first part of the summer of 1893, when the planters were compelled to forsake their homes, and seek with their stock, which had to be transported on flatboats, refuge in the hills for nearly three months. Traveling on the rivers at the present time it would appear almost incredible that they should become so gorged with water, off and on, as to leave their natural confines of high and steep banks, and inundate the lands to the depth of seven and eight feet. Such, however, is and has been the case from time immemorial. Not only the fresh water from the highlands overflows, but also the salt waters of the Gulf very often pass in considerable volume through the Atchafalaya.

The denizens of the ocean penetrate and live at the present time in such inland lakes as Larto, Saline and Catahoula, retreating, however, as the water stand decreases. On one of my investigating trips I became an eye witness to the capture of a blue shark, which, on being measured, was found to be 8 feet 2 inches in length.

That with such occurrences human habitation becomes somewhat difficult, and that human exertion to protect life and property becomes imperative, is obvious enough; and when even now we are compelled to resort to protective measures against the encroaching waters—after a gradual increase of soil through the deposits of retreating floods of hundreds of successive years has taken place—how much more imperative must it have been for the prehistoric settlers of such partially submerged sections of our entire country to protect and place themselves above high water mark. Then, as well as now, man for one reason or another has chosen the immediate vicinity of either sea, lake or river as his abode; and to place themselves, whenever the need arose, out of reach of an occasional flood these earliest settlers, but few in number then

as compared with the present population of this continent, resorted to the establishment of the mounds. The erection of the mounds and the dwelling upon them became so much an established custom with those people, that even in localities where there was seemingly no absolute necessity, they yet erected them. Although never to such an extent as in the lowlands, the hill parishes of Louisiana and other States bear abundant evidence of this firmly established habit. That, however, these mounds were used for burial and sacrificial purposes and erected with such intentions only, I find contradicted by several facts, viz.: There are mounds which show all the signs of having been tenanted by the living, but there are no traces of any of their dead; there are also no indications of any sacrificial rites having been performed; and, again, we find mounds connected with others which evidently were just completed and show no signs of ever having been put to any use, either by way of habitation or as burial or sacrificial places; the depression (circumvallation as Foster calls it) around their bases, as well as the soil itself, however, declaring them at once artificial and not natural elevations.

In regard to the construction of the earth-mounds, it is strange that so little has been noted.

The general idea of their original interior seems to be an erroneous one, for it is to my mind absolutely wrong to imagine that from the beginning a mound should have been what it appears at the present time, and that it was finished and left, as we see it now—making, of course, the proper allowance for the wear and tear of time.

As my excavations of the Larto mounds clearly demonstrated to me, the mound was thrown up and the summit raised above high water. Dwelling on it, however, as well as the subsequent settling of the earth, necessitated after some time an additional layer of earth, and when after a while even this proved insufficient, other additions were made.

That such a procedure actually took place seems to me sufficiently attested by the deposition of their dead; for whereas a mound may contain a large number of skeletons,

closer scrutiny instantly discloses the fact that most of the bodies were found in separate layers of soil and were consequently interred at different periods.

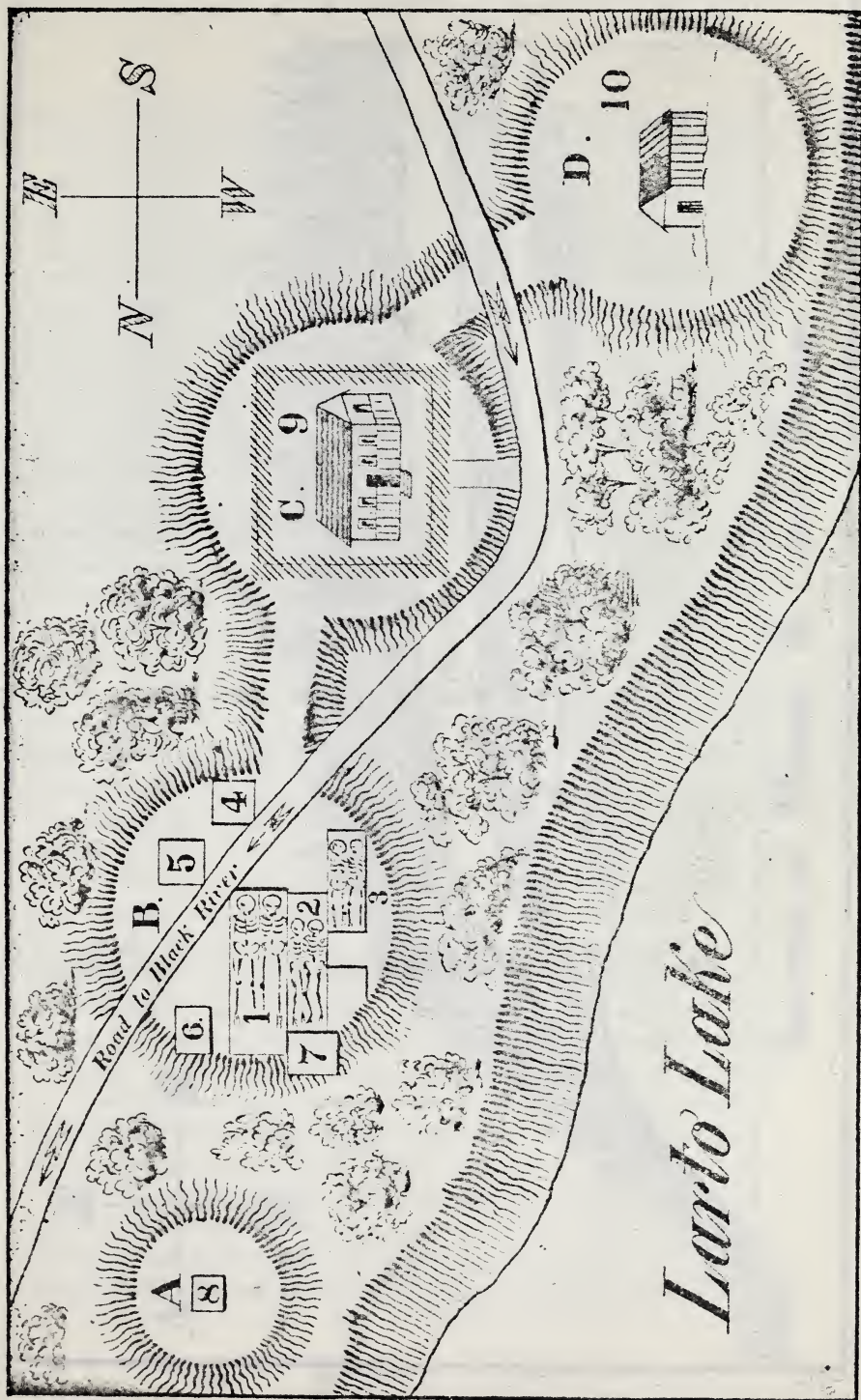
A single mound may have been the habitat of one or more families, during the time of overflow; but as new members grew up and one mound became insufficient to accommodate the increase, a new mound was thrown up and tenanted by members, or at any rate, by the kin of the occupants of the first. Communication was maintained between the mounds by means of what one might call elevated passage ways, thus binding the mounds together like the links of a chain. To a certain extent these links have become obliterated; very likely from the fact that their formation was not as compact, and, I scarcely think, they were increased in height as often as the mounds themselves. It was not evident to me whether these aborigines made use of a natural elevation of the soil to form a foundation; the Larto mounds simply showed in their basement layer a conformation with the soil found some distance away from the mounds and at a depth of a few inches. As the ground was thrown into a hill, there naturally was created a sort of trench around, and, as for all subsequent additions, the people did not go very much farther than the limits of the trench, and could have worked only at times when the waters had completely subsided, the height of the mound increased in about the same ratio as the depth of the trenches. Whether it was intentional or not, these trenches may have served another purpose—to keep water in the immediate vicinity of the mounds, even after the surrounding land had become dry again.

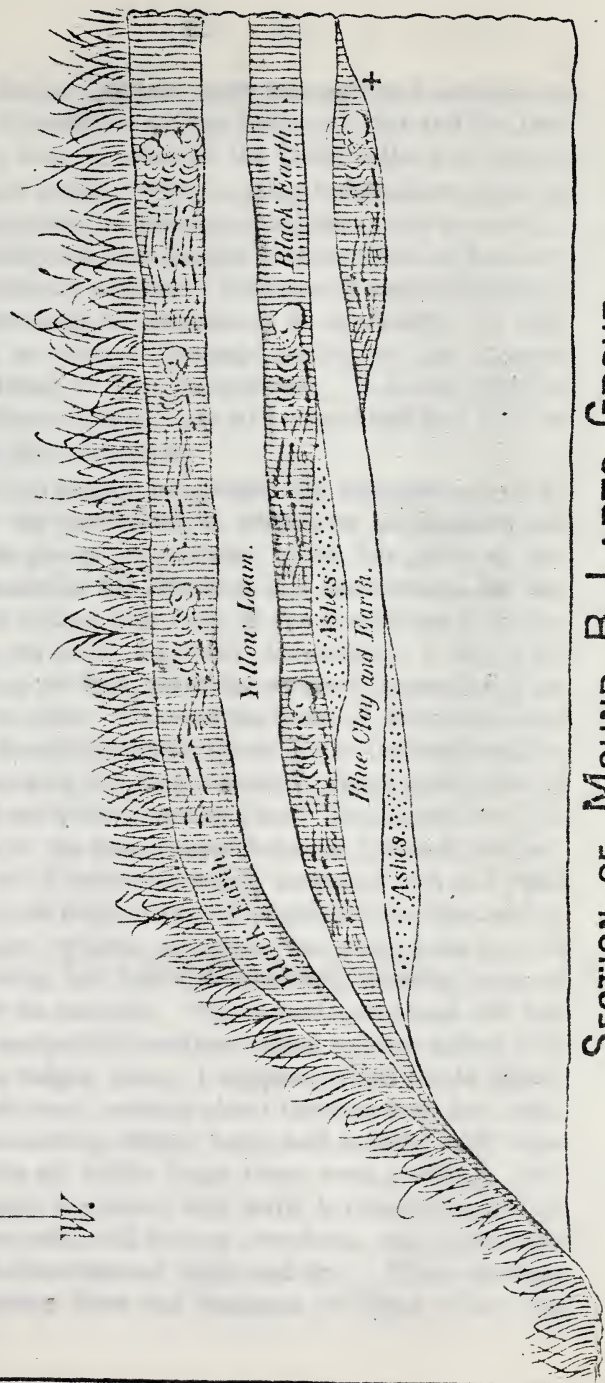
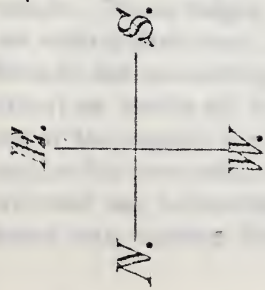
That we occasionally encounter mounds of excessive magnitude compared with those of ordinary dimensions, is due to the importance of their use, either as a seat of government, a place of worship, or both. Such excessively large mounds, also, are almost invariably surrounded by smaller ones.

The best illustration of this we find in that remarkable group of mounds upon which the present town of Jonesville, at the junction of the Ouachita, Little and Tensas rivers in Catahoula parish, is built. The original height of the large

mound must have been at least seventy-five feet. It consisted of what might be called two sections—the base about forty feet, and a tumulus of nearly the same height. As such a structure Prof. C. G. Forshey described it in 1840, but during the civil war the soldiers leveled the tumulus down, excavated the plateau and converted the whole into a fortification.

Numerous attempts to establish the age of the mounds have been made, but so far all of them have proven unsatisfactory. Deductions from the preservation of the skeletons have been tried, but they proved as futile as the basing of the age upon that of the vegetation occurring on the mounds. To place, however, the origin of these mounds at a comparatively recent period on account of the occasional finding of articles of European and modern manufacture is, in my opinion, not well justified. The entire structure of all of them is more or less superficial, but from the time of their construction they have been, and always will be, as long as any vestige is left of them, places of congregation, whether in times of peace or of war, for the earliest as well as the latest settlers of the country. It is, therefore, not unlikely that such traces of more modern eras should have penetrated a few feet into and through several layers of soil without establishing thereby the existence of a long and remote period with any degree of certainty. The inhabitants that were met with by the later French invaders may have been descendants of those tribes, and may have preserved and continued some of their mental and mechanical traits, degenerating again as time rolled on. But I think we must justly believe the period of the flourishing activity of the mound builders at least contemporaneous if not prior to Columbus' arrival from the far East. Foster and Squire and Davis, in their works on the ancient dwellers of North America, give their period as antedating that of the Mayas of Central America and the Aztecs and Toltecs of Mexico. While I admit that the adoption of such an age might be excessive, I find it somewhat unlikely that the mound builders were in point of character, disposition and intellect the same as the still existing tribes of the Indian





SECTION OF MOUND B. LARTO GROUP.

race, and that we can explain their manners and customs according to the disposition of the Indian of this and the preceding century, even if some of the tribes adhere to certain long established habits. Our existing Indians have been as ignorant of the history of the mound builders as we are to-day, nor have any traditions been handed down to them, as far as we can ascertain with any certainty. However, I must confess that this point is not one to be considered as conclusive, for with a race that has no written language, traditions may become obliterated in three or four generations. It is true some of the existing tribes of Indians are still mound builders, but not in the sense of the aborigines.

In the preceding pages I have somewhat transgressed, and I must now take up my report in regard to the location and formation of the group of mounds, which has given us, not only so much material for reflection and speculation, but has brought us face to face with facts of the aborigines of Louisiana, of which we knew but little heretofore. I found the group consisting of four mounds, situated immediately on the banks of the lake. Three of them are of about the same size, while the fourth is smaller by one-half—in every respect, with the exception of the height—which about equals that of the others, at least at the present time. The diameter of the larger mounds at the base ranges between 150 and 160 feet. The height of all of them is now only between seven and eight feet. Their original height has been probably twice that much, but continued use by men and cattle has tended not only to compress the earth, but has also caused the wearing away of considerable of its material. The mounds are about 100 feet apart, and are connected by ridges, which to some extent still remain. These ridges were, I suppose, from ten to fifteen feet wide at their base, but only about three or four feet high. Mounds and connecting ridges were well covered with vegetation; on nearly all fairly large trees were growing. On one of the mounds a planter had built his residence and on another his corn crib; and during overflows, that gentleman informed me, both remained high and dry. While the first larger one, coming from the direction of Black river, has

somewhat the better location for the erection of a dwelling, Mr. Wiley refrained from using it on account of his striking immediately human remains, when he started to dig post holes. He selected, therefore, the second one, and while he found great quantities of pottery and implements, all his diggings revealed not a single trace of skeletons. The same results he experienced in the third mound, where he eventually located his corn crib.

I had therefore virtually but two mounds left for a thorough exploration. On account of considerable loss of time, the work was not pressed on the first day, excepting a merely superficial examination. The removal of a few inches of black earth (humus, principally) brought to light human bones. They were all much decayed, and the position of the skeletons could not be determined. In some places the bones were greatly mixed up, as if they had been buried in heaps. There was also a considerable quantity of pottery, but broken into fragments. Somewhat disappointed, I ceased work for that day, but returned the day after thoroughly equipped for the continuance of the work. Heretofore I had been working in nothing but black humus, but immediately below this I struck a layer of yellow loam. This layer proved to be of almost a uniform thickness of twelve or fourteen inches.

In it all signs of human remains had disappeared. After removing this yellow loam to an extent of ten or eleven feet by about seven to eight feet in width, I again came upon black earth. Being mixed with clay, however, it proved considerably harder than the surface layer. In this layer I found skeletons, but, unlike the former, in a much better state of preservation. Nearly all the long bones admitted of removal; they were very brittle at first until the moisture had thoroughly evaporated.

The bones were all lying close together, and the bodies had been buried side by side—head toward the south, feet to the north. It was practically impossible to obtain an entire skull or skeleton, and every single bone had to be cut out of the hard clay with the knife. On the left side of some of the skulls I found the fragments of vases or bowls, also a

few arrow heads, and with one of the bodies a medium sized axe had been buried.

After removal of the remains I continued the excavation, and suddenly I came upon a bed of ashes. This bed covered a small area of about four feet square, and was about an inch and a half in thickness. Examination of the ashes revealed charred catfish ribs and garfish scales, but to say whether these were the remains of sacrificial rites or of a repast would be assuming too much. Not a trace of a vessel was found in or near the ashes. The appearance of the whole was simply that which any plain camp fire would leave behind. This ash bed rested immediately on a mixed layer of blue clay and earth. The thickness of this stratum did not exceed six inches. While yet removing some traces of the ash bed I came upon another skeleton, and proceeding with the greatest caution I discovered two others lying close to it.

I shall speak of these again, and, therefore, shall not go into any details at present. These bodies proved to be the last, for they were evidently superimposed on the original mound. I carried on the excavation for fully a foot below the actual base of the mound, but found, however, not a trace of bones, pottery or implements, and not even the nature of the earth of which it was composed changed. The thickness or height of this latter portion of the mound was nearly five feet. After completing the work in this large trench I turned my attention to other portions of the mound. I found many bones in the upper layers, but in the lower ones all search proved futile. My next move was the examination of the smallest mound of the group. This is now almost completely covered with a growth of trees. I concluded to sink a trench in the centre, but found no indication of any layers of different soils, nor any bones, pottery or implements; and in my opinion this mound was only in construction when death overtook its architects.

The mound upon which Mr. Wiley built his dwelling house was for the greater remaining portion in use as a corn field. From the experience I had in the other two mounds, I can readily believe Mr. Wiley's assertion, that all evidences of

human habitation that he has found during a twelve-years' residence on the two mounds which he occupies, were superficial only. Human bones or skeletons he never found, although he has ploughed deeply into the earth, and has sunk holes several feet in depth, time and again. It may seem strange that of the four mounds but one should have been used as a burial place, but it plainly shows that our Louisiana mounds (and examinations in other sections of the State corroborate this) never were intended as burial places, but simply and solely as places of retreat and safety during high water.

In regard to their physical standard it is well conceded that the mound builders were a fairly large race generally, although by no means of such gigantic proportions as some writers would lead us to believe. From remains of a large number of bodies which I examined at the Larto mounds, I would judge that full grown men might have averaged nearly six feet. Quite a sensation was created by the fact that a part of a skull (frontal bone) was found which measured actually $\frac{3}{8}$ of an inch in thickness. Upon further search I found other portions of the same skull of corresponding thickness. This, however, proved to be only an exceptional case, for the majority of other skulls present no such abnormal development; but upon comparing them in this respect with so-called mound builders' skulls from other sections, an excessive thickness is noticeable.

In the same line of abnormality was the finding of one skull in which the dentition reached the unusual number of forty teeth, the increase consisting in eight additional incisors. The remarkable preservation of the teeth is noteworthy. In a few skulls, however, some of the teeth show a perfectly smooth surface, and the trenchant edges have become obliterated. The incisors, however, have preserved their chisel-like form, unlike those of a skull exhumed from a Wisconsin mound, in which they present a round and smoothly worn surface, such as would be produced by a lateral instead of a vertical motion of the maxillæ, a point from which we can readily deduce the conclusion that these aborigines were more or less vegetarians in their mode of life.

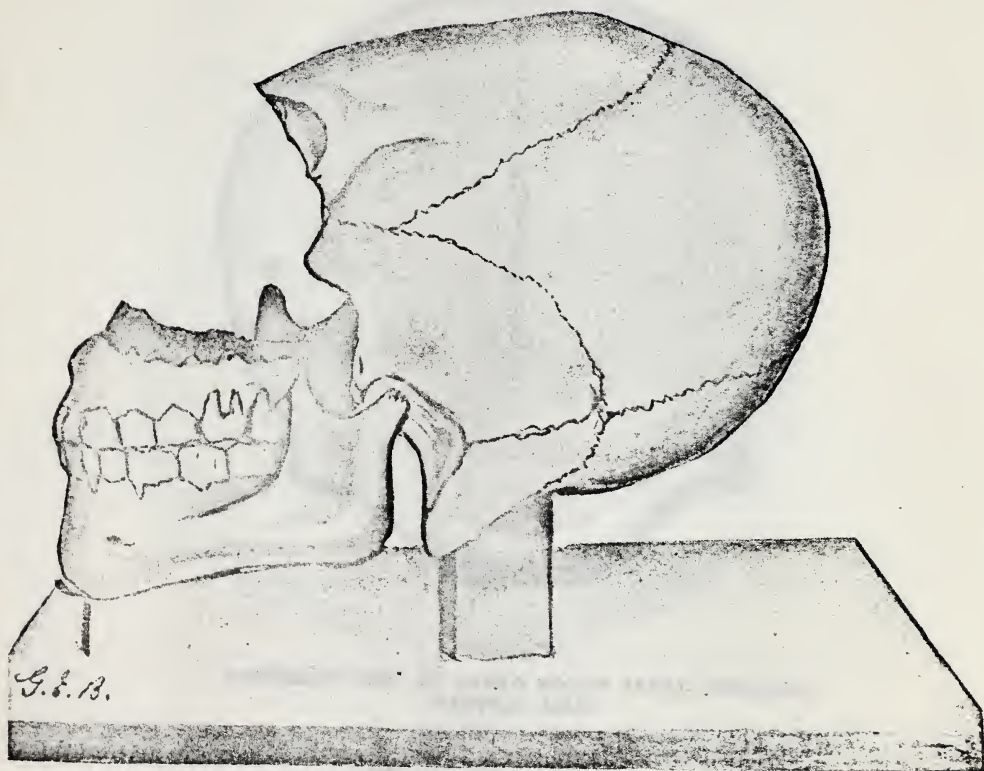


PLATE IV.
LARTO MOUND SKULL ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

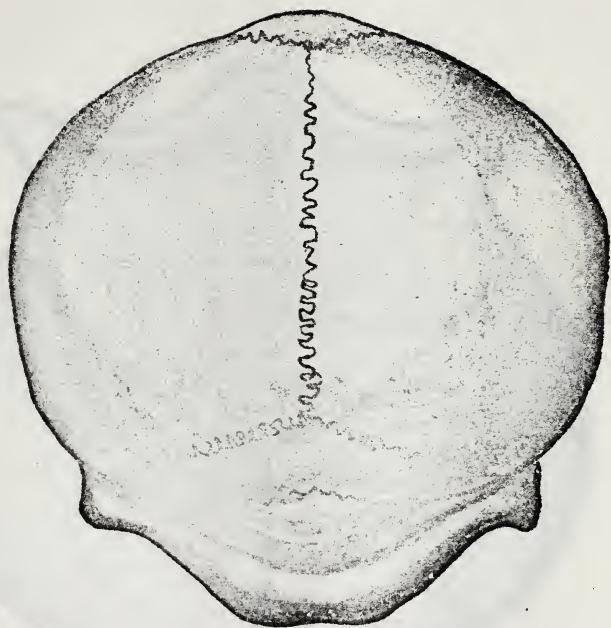


PLATE V.
POSTERIOR VIEW OF LARTO MOUND SKULL ONE-HALF
NATURAL SIZE.

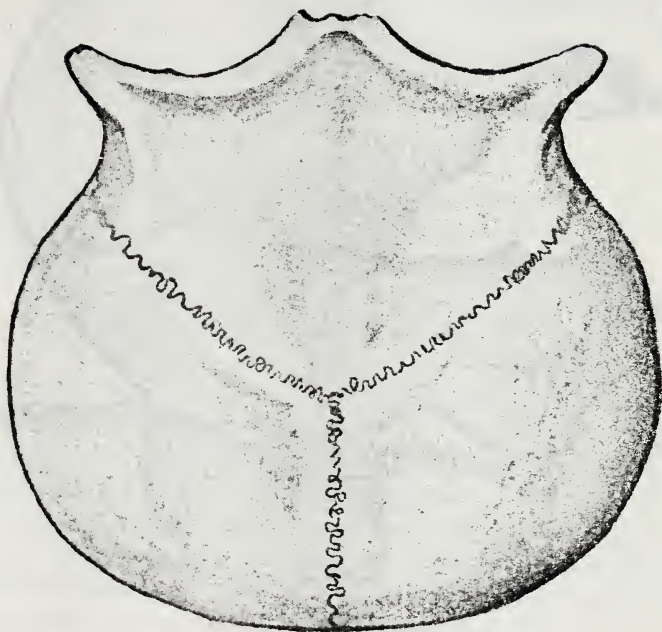


PLATE VI.

VERTICAL VIEW OF LARTO MOUND SKULL NEARLY THREE-
FIFTHS NATURAL SIZE.

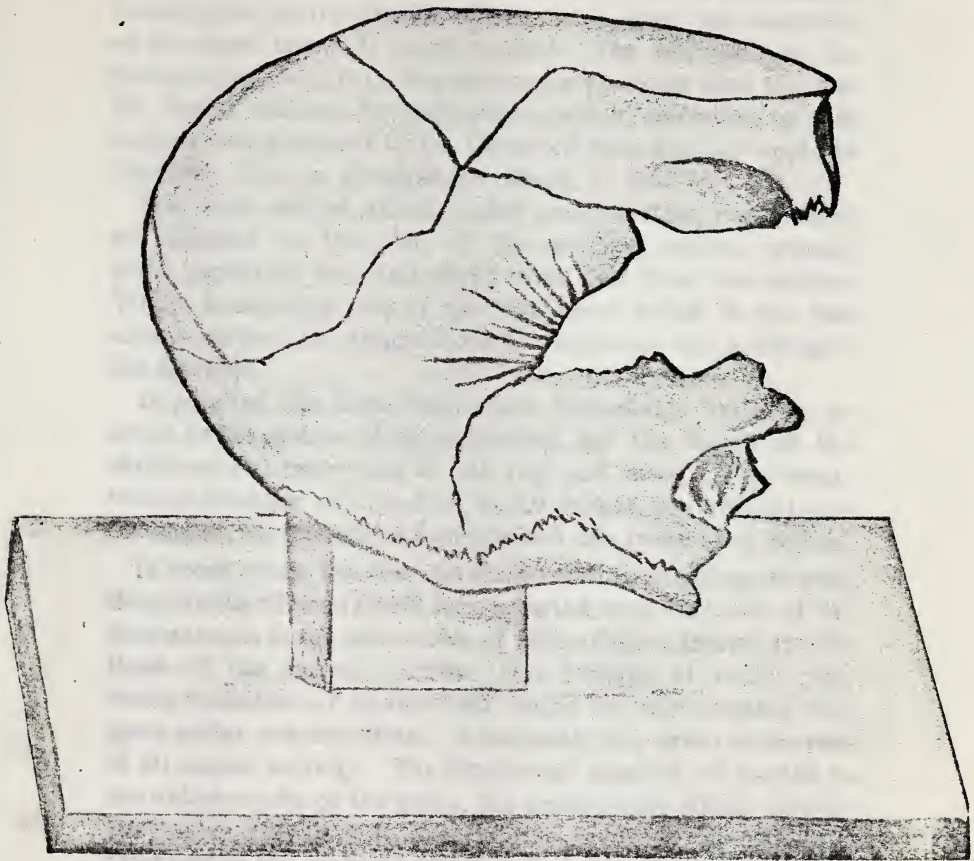


PLATE VII.

FRAGMENT OF LARTO MOUND SKULL NEARLY THREE-FIFTHS NATURAL SIZE.

The formation of the skulls found in the Larto mounds, as compared with those of other localities, is highly anomalous. I have given an illustration of one which, with the exception of the facial bones, is nearly perfect. The approach to the Neanderthal skull is in this instance even closer than the one Dr. Foster outlines for comparison, which, according to that author, was exhumed by Dr. Campbell from a mound opposite Dunleith, Illinois (Prehistoric Races, p. 289, Fig. 65).

The Larto mound skulls under consideration were found as indicated on the plan of the sectional mound, beneath three layers of soil, and about three feet from the surface. While uncovering one of the skeletons, which *in situ* was almost perfect, the prognathous physiognomy was striking in the extreme.

In point of size these skulls are remarkably small in relation to the stature of the individual, for the height of the skeletons was every inch of six feet and more. The longitudinal diameter of the skull is 6.9 inches, the vertical one 5.5 inches, the parietal 6.3 inches and the frontal 5.4 inches.

In some points the singular conformation would agree with those skulls of men found intermingled with the bones of extinct animals in the bone caves of Minas Geræs, Brazil, or with those of the ancient Caribs. Our Indians of to-day possess a formation of skull which can in no way compare with those under consideration. Admittedly the brain is the seat of all mental activity. The intellectual capacity we ascribe to the anterior lobe of the brain, the propensities which connect the human species with the inferior forms of animals find their seat in the central portion, and lastly the posterior lobe is supposed to control the social intercourse and affections. While we certainly can not expect a very high intellectual standard from either the Indian or the mound builder, we find in the latter a greater volume of brain matter in the posterior lobe, but the brute proclivities are certainly not as predominating as in the box-shaped skull of our latter-day Indian.

In all other types of flat skulls, such as the Flathead and Chinook Indians or the ancient inhabitants of Mexico, we find

that the forehead retreats immediately above the superciliary arch. In these Larto skulls, however, the entire absence of the forehead is conspicuous, and the frontal bone presents an almost level plane immediately behind, instead of above, the superciliary arch. The anomaly in these cases can not be ascribed to artificial disfiguration, for, were it such, the otherwise symmetrical development of the other parts would be impossible. This marvelous flatness and extension of the frontal bone of the Louisiana skulls must not be attributed to the means employed by the Chinook or Flathead Indians, who caused flatness of the skull by two bandages—one behind and above the superciliary arch, and one behind the coronal suture. These bandages always resulted in a corresponding cavity marking the compression, and also in an irregular formation of the parietal region, caused by the efforts of the brain matter to find place from which it was driven by the compression in front. When artificial flatness is caused, the brain matter in seeking another place can not be confined to stated limits, and, consequently, the result, in the shape of the skull, is not only not symmetrical, but different in different individuals. Here, however, we find that the formation of the Larto skulls is natural and symmetrical and alike in different individuals, proving thereby that their remarkable conformation could not possibly have been the result of bandages or other external appliances, but was undoubtedly congenital.

That we have in this instance a true representation of the aboriginal mound builder, I have no doubt, and I am forced to coincide with Dr. Foster, that "It seems quite probable that men with skulls of this low grade were the most ancient upon this continent; that they were the first to heap up those curiously shaped mounds of earth which now so much puzzle the antiquary; that they were gradually superseded and crowded out by a superior race, who, adopting many of their customs, continued to build mounds and to bury their dead in mounds already built. Hence we find mound builders with skulls of this ancient form associated with others of more modern type." In these lines Dr. Foster bears me

out in my assertion previously made in this report, that the mounds, as we find them to-day, are the result of activity at different periods; that their existence was perpetuated from prehistoric times to the Columbian epoch of this country and still later.

Having now fairly considered the physical points of this past race, it behooves us to turn our attention to their mental developments as far as we are able to judge from the remains of their handicraft. If our deductions in calculating mental capacity according to the development and size of the brain case be correct, we are at once at fault in connecting the amount of skill in the design and execution displayed in their work with the anthropoid formation of their skull. While common necessity may have taught them to fashion stones into weapons and other implements, and to adopt such shapes so as to render them more effective, it required a higher flight of intellectuality to branch out into ornamental ceramic art. This skill is, however, not only displayed by simple or complex design, but the human face and form has in many instances been so faithfully portrayed, that we are enabled to trace out the characteristics of their physiognomy to some extent.

For the manufacture of pottery two grades of clay mixtures were employed, one a very highly tempered grade for small vessels and ornamental objects, and the other a very coarse composition of broken shells and clay for the manufacture of large kettles, etc. The use of the potter's lathe was apparently unknown to the mound builders; some vessels, as for instance, the cup illustrated on Plate VIII, Fig. 1, shows perfect symmetry and would indicate the existence of such an instrument. The cup referred to still bears some traces of glazing, but generally the pottery has been left unglazed. The drinking cup, depicted on the same page, Fig. 2, which was found with the skeleton already spoken of, is of rather irregular shape, and clearly proves the absence of the turning table. The design engraved on it is somewhat unique, and suggests to some extent the anatomical features of the sea-urchin, the dots along the the zigzag lines portraying the

ambulacral area, near the edge two holes have been drilled, very likely for the purpose of passing a string through them. The outside bears marks of frequent exposure to fire. The urn illustrated on Plate IX is in form of the usual style of those vessels, the symmetry is not regular, the ornamentation consists of two rows of large chevrons, but while the interspaces of the upper row are ornamented with numerous irregular punctures, those of the lower are decorated with parallel lines. The entire design, simple yet pleasing, was engraved into the soft clay. In all pieces of pottery so far mentioned, however, we find that the ornamentations are all carried out on the plan of straight instead of curved lines, with one exception, the vase on Plate X, Fig. 1. This vessel was found by Mr. Trisler a few weeks previous to my investigations near the surface or rather in the most superficial layer of a mound.

While yet much lacking in symmetry, the advanced style in shape and decoration is noticeable. Simple straight lines have given place to complex concentric lines which were impressed into the clay while still plastic. The greatest difference, however, is that coloring matter as well, both black and red, had been used as additional ornamentation. Upon comparison of the first specimens of pottery of which I have made mention in this report with this last specimen of the potter's art, one can not help noticing a greater advance in the manufacture and to ascribe to it a later period than to the former. I found large quantities of small fragments of other utensils, some of them evidently pieces of very large and rather roughly made vessels, judging from their but very slight concave shape.

In Fig. No. 2 of the same plate we have a specimen of what the ancient artists were able to perform in the way of grotesque human physiognomy. The object is perforated through its longest diameter, but unless it was intended merely as an ornament, I could possibly not imagine any other purpose. The material of which it is composed is clay. As the side view indicates, the forehead is highly arched and overhangs the deeply seated eyes, indicated by two holes. The nose is enormously large and somewhat aquiline. The cheeks ap-

PLATE VIII.

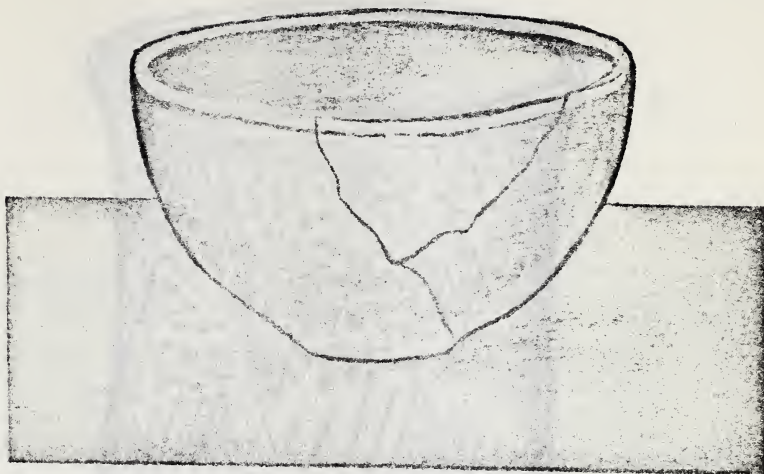


Fig. 1.
BOWL FROM LARTO MOUND ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

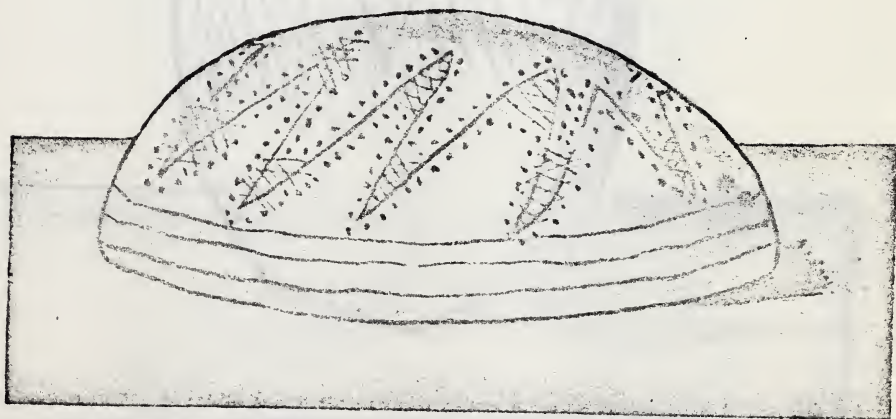


Fig. 2.
BOWL FROM LARTO MOUND ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.



PLATE IX.
SEFULCHRAL URN, LARTO MOUND, ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

PLATE X.



Fig. 1.

VASE FROM LARTO MOUND ONE-HALF NATURAL SIZE.

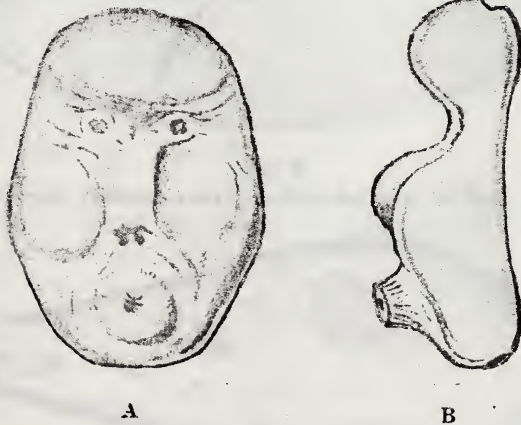


Fig. 2.

ORNAMENTS, LARTO MOUND, NATURAL SIZE.

PLATE XI.



Fig. 1.
CUP HANDLE, LARTO MOUND, NATURAL
SIZE

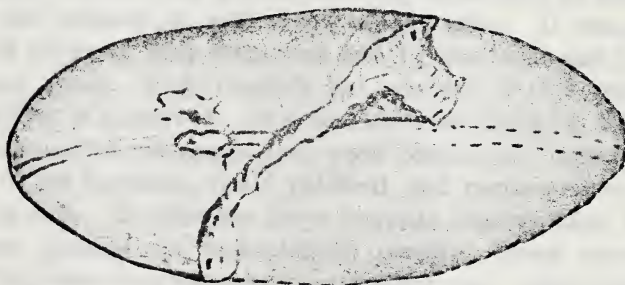


Fig. 2
SHUTTLE (TOURMALINE), LARTO MOUND. NATURAL SIZE.



Fig. 3.
PLUMMET, LARTO MOUND, NATURAL SIZE.

pear to be inflated, and, with the puckered lips, would represent the musical performance of whistling.

On Plate XI, Fig. No. 1 is an illustration of what must have been a handle of a drinking cup or bowl, something like one recovered from a mound in Perry county, Missouri, only that in the latter the handle represents a female head, whereas it is difficult to say just what an animal the artist portrayed in our fragment. Taking a side view, a faint resemblance to a feline might be imagined, but the broad muzzle seen from front would disclaim the likeness.

A highly interesting fragment is what appears to have been a weaver's shuttle. It is made of a piece of tourmaline, and a great deal of time and labor must have been bestowed on its manufacture. When perfect it was about $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ wide and shaped almost like a boat, and has a fairly deep groove running from end to end on both the concave as well as the convex sides. It was perforated about an inch from each end by two holes and these an inch apart. Unfortunately but one-half of this curious instrument is preserved. It is illustrated on Plate IX, Fig. 2, Of the so-called plummets two were found, the larger one made of red hematite, nicely polished and perforated at the smaller end. To what use these peculiar objects have been put has puzzled the archeologists greatly. Some contend that they were used as sinkers on fishing nets; others again, I suppose with equal reason, as weights to keep the threads taut while weaving. The fact of so much labor and time having been bestowed upon them (and some have been found in Northern mounds which were ornamented with human faces), would prove that they were not used as sinkers; for as such there would be constant danger of their being lost.

II.

RIDDLE MOUNDS.

All mounds so far described, and all situated on the west of the Mississippi, were of round or oblong form. The only group, however, I visited on the east side comprised five

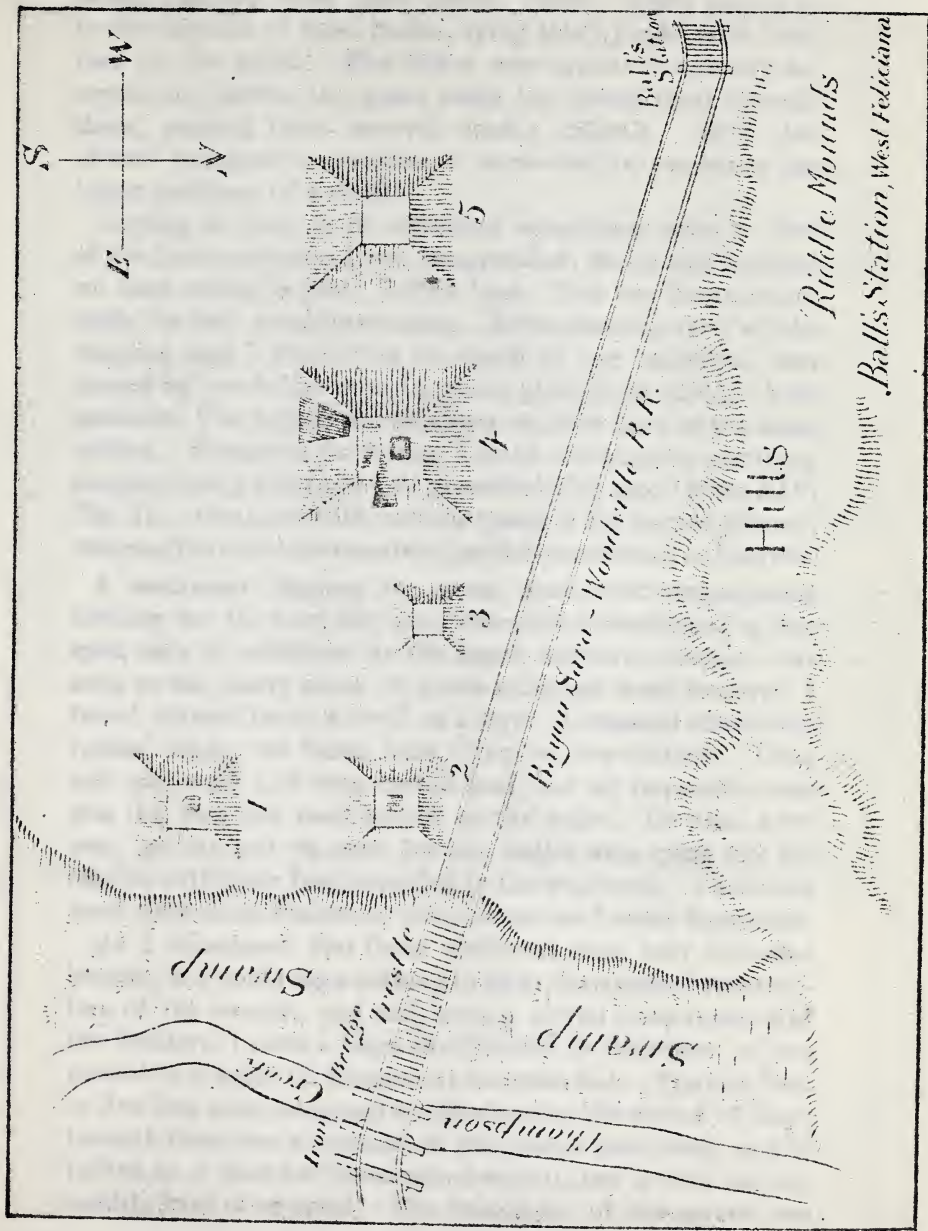
mounds, which were square from base to summit. This group is located on the Bayou Sara and Woodville branch of the Yazoo & Mississippi Valley Railroad, ten miles from Slaughter, at Ball's Station, and situated on the land of Mr. N. B. Riddle, who courteously placed the mounds at my disposal, and the day after my arrival I began operations.

The mounds are now in the open fields, almost at the foot of the hills, and only about 800 yards from Thompson's creek; the intervening space is taken up by a swamp, and all indications point to the fact that at some time, however remote, the water was in much closer proximity, and that the land was subject to inundation. The soil around that particular section where the mounds are located shows sand and gravel beds, as well as some very fine clay. In one place I found quite an extensive tract of the so-called buckshot land, some of which had been used (introduced) in the erection of the largest mound.

As I remarked before, the mounds are all square, and are placed about 200 yards apart on a straight line, with the exception of one, which stands rectangular to the others, and at the time of erection very likely on the banks of the stream.

Believing that the largest mound would yield up more of the history and remains, I commenced work there. I found the mound, like the others, covered by an unusually rank growth of exceedingly tough grass, the roots penetrating nearly two feet into the soil.

I proceeded to cut a trench from the base on the south side. I found the material of which the mound was composed to consist of very hard blue clay. After cutting away about five feet of the base, I came upon a layer of buckshot land, about a foot in thickness; immediately above that was a bed of sand and gravel. I had entered the mound from the base to a distance of eight feet, and taken away enough to clear a cavity of about nine or ten feet in height, and six or seven feet in width, but not a sign of anything could I discover. The extreme heat compelled me to leave off work here; but I commenced cutting from the summit of the mound to meet the trench I just left. At a depth of about eighteen or





twenty inches I came upon human bones. These proved to be the remains of three bodies, lying side by side, with their feet to the south. The bones were almost completely decayed, and besides the grass roots had grown right through them, making their removal doubly difficult. With the utmost precaution, however, I succeeded in removing the larger portions of a skull.

Hoping to find in its structure something akin to that of the Larto mounds, I was disappointed, for in this instance we have simply a plain Indian type. But one circumstance made the find more interesting. After cleaning away all the attached clay I found that the death of the individual was caused by two bullet wounds, which pierced the skull in both parietals. The bullets do not appear to have been of the same calibre. Excepting the bones, I could not discover anything except a fairly large and well preserved clay pipe (Plate XIV, Fig. 1). One hole still shows the traces of the burned tobacco, whereas the stemhole remained perfectly unstained or charred.

I continued digging for some time, but encountered nothing but the hard clay, and therefore discontinued in this spot, only to commence at the upper northwest corner. As soon as the heavy crust of grass-roots had been removed, I found charred bones as well as a layer of charcoal about four inches thick; the bones were lying on the charcoal. Cane and oak wood had been used as fuel, and my impression was that the men had been burned at the stake. Of this, however, we can not be sure, for the bodies were lying like the others, with their feet extended to the westward. There had been only three skeletons, also, as far as I could determine.

As I considered that those skeletons were only intrusive burials, and could have nothing to do in the original construction of the mounds, and still hoping to find some remains of the builders, I sunk a large shaft almost in the centre of the mound to a depth of thirteen or fourteen feet. The first four or five feet were composed as elsewhere on the mound of clay; beneath them was a stratum of fine gravel and sand, and it looked as if lime had been mixed with it, but it was not unusually hard or compact. The remainder of the mound was

clay, sometimes pure and very hard and greasy, at others mixed with small quantities of sand and gravel. Notwithstanding that I examined almost every shovelful of earth as the men threw it out, not a sign of implements or pottery was unearthed.

About eight or nine years ago some party partially explored this mound, but, so Mr. Riddle informed me, with no better results in regard to relics. The object of his digging, though, was only the recovery of such relics, and he otherwise paid no attention to the construction itself.

Then I turned my attention to mound No. 2. With the exception of the covering, which consisted of about a foot and a half of clay, it was composed of gravel, so hard, however, that it was like digging into concrete. I found nothing in the mound, but strewn all about and scattered for some distance into the field, the base was covered on the south side with countless small fragments of pottery, some of which still bore the signs of ornamentation.

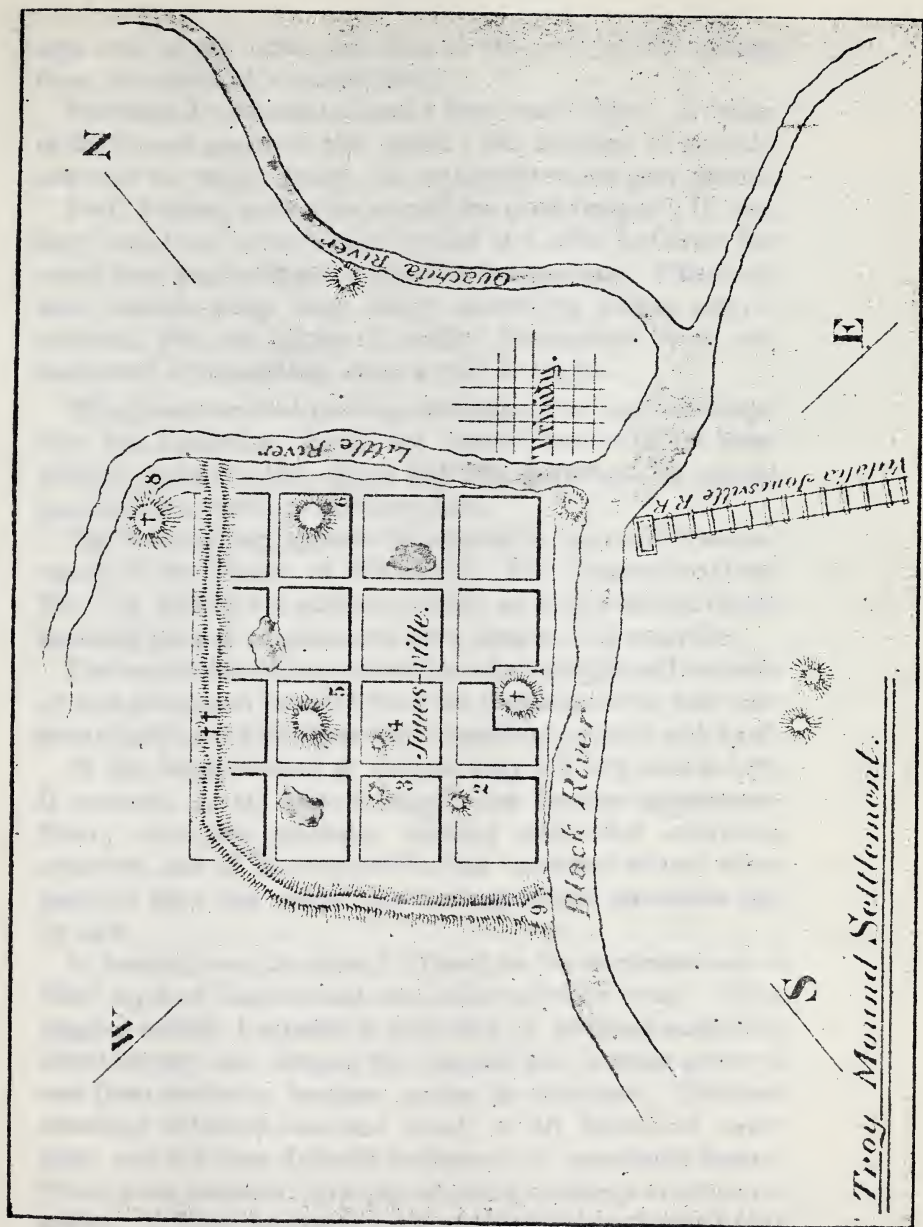
Mound No. 1 was so heavily covered with timber, and the roots had destroyed the interior of the mound so completely, that, after a small shaft had been sunk, I gave further examination up. The mound was constructed of clay.

Between the largest mound (No. 4) and the one which forms the angle of the group (No. 2) a mound had been begun. About 1845, when Mr. Riddle first settled in the locality, its outlines were still perfect, but its height did not amount to much. Subsequent continuous cultivation has now resulted in almost complete destruction, and it was really Mr. Riddle's explanation which drew my attention to it.

III.

TROY OR JONESVILLE GROUP.

After my examination of the Larto mounds I extended my observations along Black river, where finally my attention was arrested by the Jonesville mounds. These were mentioned to me quite often, but on reaching the town I found that the work and the difficulties connected therewith were more than I could



cope with at the time, and that it was well worth making them the object of a special visit.

Therefore I returned to them a few weeks later. In some of the former pages of this report I had occasion to mention not only the entire group, but especially the largest mound.

Prof. Forshey calls this mound the great temple. It may have been that, or the seat of a chief of a tribe, but there has never been any verification of either assumption. This enormous mound, whose base covers something like an acre, is enclosed, with six others of smaller dimensions, by an embankment of something about a mile in length.

This group received passing attention by several investigators, but I have to thank the present owners of the large mound, especially Mrs. Jones and her daughter, for special permission to work on that structure.

The entire group appears illustrated in the twelfth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology. The illustration (page 251, Fig. 155) is not entirely correct, as will be shown by the amended plan of mounds and town squares of Jonesville.

The material for the construction of very nearly all mounds of this group was brought from the Ouachita river and consists chiefly in red and blue clay, exceedingly greasy and hard.

Of the large mound at present only the very core is left. It presents on all sides a rugged and broken appearance. Heavy rains are gradually washing away this enormous structure, and if its composition had consisted of any other material than the heavy clay nothing would have been left by now.

In looking over the mound I found on the northwest side a thick layer of charcoal and concluded to follow it up. After digging awhile, I exposed a solid bed of charcoal extending about twenty feet around the mound and in some places it was from twelve to fourteen inches in thickness. This bed consisted of buried cane and wood, in all likelihood sweet gum, and had been deposited crossways in systematic layers. There were, however, no signs of bows, crockery or other remains. A little further to the west, but between three or four feet higher up, I discovered another layer of charcoal; it con-

sisted, like the former, of cane and wood, and, although I followed it up to a distance of about eight feet into the interior of the mound, all search after human remains or utensils proved futile.

The position of the charcoal beds proved that the mound must have been terraced on the northwest side at the time the fires were kindled. No evidence of fires could be detected on other sections of the mound. In years gone by, innumerable quantities of broken pottery, lance and arrow heads were found scattered all over the surface, but since the original covering of the mound has washed away, none of such relics remain. As in the Larto mounds the signs of habitation or use, at any rate, were here also superficial only. I am almost confident that this enormous pile of clay never was intended for sepulchral purposes and constructed originally over the dead body of some person of note. It is true, some people informed me that they had seen some years ago the end of a coffin protruding on the southeast side, and that it had been covered with "velvet." I instituted search all around the indicated locality, but, of course, without detecting the slightest sign of it now; the same parties acknowledged never to have paid any further attention to the strange looking object. Even admitting the reliability of the statement, that interment was only a superficial one, and most likely occurred on one of the terraces.

Much more I am inclined to side with the theory of Prof. Forshey, believing this mound to have been erected as a general place of worship, forming, as it were, the very centre of this mound builder region. A fire kindled on that mound or at least the rising smoke could be seen within a radius of thirty miles. The Larto group, the group of mounds on Little river, those on Black, Tensas and Ouachita rivers, must have been in direct communication with this immense settlement.

That any further work on this temple mound would yield better results in unearthing the relics of its architects, I am not prepared to say, but it would require a larger expenditure and a cooler season of the year to accomplish investigation to its very foundation.

Most of the other mounds are now in constant use; houses have been built on one of them (No. 6); the one situated right in the point where Little river flows into the Black (No. 7) has been graded down, to allow an easier approach to the wharf. Pottery and implements, I am told, were plentiful when the mound was first disturbed. Strange to say, though, human remains were frequently found, not in the mound, but buried on Black river, especially where the road follows along the bank of the stream. Mound No. 1 has been used as a graveyard for white people for several years, and of the rest only No. 2 was available for work. It is situated for its larger part right in the street, and people and animals are passing constantly over it.

The remaining portion is within the town square, and fenced off. Most of that part, however has been cut away to obtain the soil for gardening purposes. I had but one choice left to begin operations, and that was by sinking a shaft, about four feet square, almost in the centre. After digging down a trifle over three feet, through very hard and greasy blue clay, sand was found. Immediately over the sand, but still imbedded in the clay, I found a single skeleton, too badly decayed, though, to admit of its removal, and nothing in the line of implements or pottery had been buried with it. I was convinced that in this mound, like in all others so far examined, burials, if any, or relics and vessels, were only to be found in the superficial layers, and following upon this plan, I started to remove the upper crust almost entirely. My surmise had not been wrong, for very soon I struck decaying bones as well as pottery; the former too much decomposed to even accurately determine their position, but the latter, though only fragmentary, proved quite plentiful. The different types of vessels I described elsewhere in detail. Other implements, however, were not met with.

I examined several portions of the ridge and found its construction to conform largely with that of the mounds. Pieces of pottery were strewn all over the surface, some pieces originally belonging to vessels of exceedingly pleasing designs in ornamentation.

A few years ago a resident of Jonesville sent a colored boy to the ridge to get a few wheelbarrows of dirt. While digging the boy brought to light an entire pot, and shortly after a pipe with its stem still attached. The pot proved to be a modern little teapot, made of glazed brown earthenware, and the pipe, made of clay as well, but more of a greenish color. At first sight I put both objects down as white man's handiwork. As the owner was not willing to part with the relics, I made a drawing of the pipe (Plate XIV, Fig. 2), but did not deem it of importance enough to consider the other object at all. A partner to it may be purchased in any of our crockery stores for a trifle. Both objects were evidently intrusive.

In concluding my report I wish to express my sincere thanks to all who have helped me so generously in the performance of my commission. My special appreciation is due to Mrs. Jones, of Jonesville; Mr. James S. Trisler, of Fair Play Landing; Mr. Wiley, of Larto Lake; Mr. N. B. Riddle and Dr. Ball, of Ball Station, and Capt. Cooley and the officers of the steamer City of Camden for the many kindnesses and courtesies extended to me while sojourning with them.

PLATE XIV.



Fig. 1.
PIPE FROM RIDDLE MOUND NATURAL SIZE



Fig. 2.
PIPE FROM RIDGE MOUND AT JONESVILLE NATURAL SIZE.



Fig. 1. A cup or bowl, possibly a sketch of a vessel or a piece of pottery.



Fig. 2. A complex, irregular shape, possibly a map or a diagram of a geographical feature.

N^o. 26.

MONITEUR DE LA LOUISIANE.

Bombalio, Clangor, Stridor, Tatantara, Mormon

Lundi 25 Août de l'année Convenue 1794.

AVIS D^U. 15.

Wm. Butler, à l'honneur de prévenir le public, qu'un Américain nommé *Comfort Joy*, ayant négocié à un certain Thomas, un billet signé *William Lesby & comp.* de St. Augustin, en date du 12 Mars 1791, pour la somme de 1043 Piastres; Comme il est très probable que le dit billet a été payé. Je préviens toutes les personnes auxquelles il pourroit être présenté, de ne pas le recevoir en paiement, ni d'en donner la valeur de quelque manière que ce soit, sans être préalablement adressé à moi.

Le soussigné a pris le parti de donner cet avis, parcequ'il a appris que le susdit *Comfort Joy*, avoit paru en ville, & avoit proposé de négocier le billet dont il s'agit.

La Maison de Mrs. L'Inteau, Fabre & Engelin, ayant eu le malheur de perdre son associé, Mr. Fabre, décédé le 7 du courant; il est de toute nécessité de dissoudre la société; en conséquence il prévient toutes les personnes qui pourroient avoir quelque relation d'affaires ou comptes à régler, de se présenter dans la quinzaine. Par procuration de Mr. Engelin. A. Bonnabel.

A VENDRE, deux arpens de terre cultivable, sur 8 de profondeur, situés à l'habitation des Demoiselles

Deverges, près de la ville dans le chemin du Bayou. Celui qui voudra en faire l'acquisition, s'adressera aux dites D^lles, qui sont crédi^t jusqu'à la fin de cette année.

Idem. une habitation à un quart de lieue de la ville ci-devant au Sieur Dufresne. Il faut s'adresser à Mr. Paul Aubert.

Nlle. ORLÉANS, 21 AOUT.

Par des lettres dignes de foi, nous apprenons que l'armée des alliés engagée le 26 Avril une action des plus vives qui s'est terminée à son avantage, mais dont on ignore encore les détails. La perte des Conventionnistes est des plus conséquente, & celle des alliés monte à dix mille hommes tant tués que blessés.

Le 17 Mai, les alliés devoient attaquer d'abord, l'armée de la Convention; ce qui fait croire que le plan proposé par le Roi de Prusse, de marcher en droiteur à Paris, & de faire une guerre de campagne sans s'arrêter à former des sièges, a été adopté; au reste les seules places de Cambrai & Peronne que les alliés ont encore devant eux, pouvant être soutenus, & leur garnison rester bloquée par un corps de Cavalerie après la défaite de la grande armée du Nord; il est certain que rien ne pourroit empêcher

l'armée du Prince de Cobourg qui consiste en 150000 hommes de pénétrer jusqu'à Paris, & d'y causer une révolution qui anéantiroit le barbare despotisme des Robespierre & Barrere sous le quel la France est tombée par une fatalité sans exemple.

NAÏCHEZ 15 AOUT.

Nous avons essayé le 11 un terrible coup de vent qui a renversé les pirogues sur le fleuve, & quantité de Mais, mais il n'a fait aucun tort dans les édifices.

HAVANE 5 Juillet.

La nouvelle de la déroute de l'armée conventionniste du Nord est confirmée; elle a perdue le 7 d'Avril 128 canons, cinq à six mille morts, & 2000 prisonniers; le siég. de Landreci ayant été commencé aussitôt après, les Français obligèrent les Impériaux pour les obliger à le lever, mais ayant été repoussés avec perte, la place se rendit peu de jours après: le 3 de Mai, Barrere annonça cette nouvelle à la Convention.

Le même Barrere rapporta d'un ton emphatique la déroute de l'armée Espagnole dans le Roussillon; assurant en pleine Convention que la perte de celle-ci montoit à un général fait prisonnier, cinq à 6000 morts, 2000 prisonniers, tous ses équipages & 200 pièces de canon; quoiqu'il soit certain qu'aucun général n'ait été tué, blessé, ni fait prisonnier; que le nombre de ceux-ci ne passe pas de 1000, & celui des morts de 500, mais la perte de l'artillerie est de 130 pièces.

Du côté de la Navarre l'ennemi se tient absolument sur la défensive.

Trente mille hommes sont entrés sur le territoire de Gènes pour défendre à ce qu'ils disent la république contre les alliés, & la mettre à même de maintenir sa neutralité.

Les Français se sont emparés dans le Piémont de Coni & de deux forteresses.

Les papiers publics, ne font aucune mention par ce Courier de la Vendée.

Le 3 Mai, le fameux comte D'Aring

a terminé à Paris sa brillante carrière sous le tranchant de la guillotine, le nombre des prisonniers y montoit à 7871.

Le 3 d'Aout, une frégate Anglaise est entrée à la Havane avec un corsaire de 14 canons dont elle s'est emparée, & une prise Anglaise qu'il avoit fait.

La Corvette le Scorpion de la marine de S. M. B., qui est entrée à la Havane, rapporte que l'Escadre Anglaise composée de 32 vaisseaux de ligne, s'étant rencontrée avec celle de Brest de 30 vaisseaux de guerre qui lui présenta le combat, celui-ci dura douze heures consécutives, après lequel elles se séparèrent extrêmement maltraitées de part & d'autre; les Français perdirent douze vaisseaux de ligne, dont huit ont été pris & quatre coulés à fonds, les Anglais en ont perdu deux qui ont coulés bas, & leur vaisseau amiral a été si maltraité qu'il a dû se faire remorquer jusqu'au Port.

Les uns assurent que du résultat, le grand convoi parti le 4 Mai, des ports des Etats-Unis, est entré à Brest; & d'autres prétendent au contraire qu'il a été pris par l'escadre de Don Francisco Berja, que nous savons positivement être parti de Cadix à la fin Mai, composée de 9 vaisseaux, 6 frégates, & autres bâtimens légers, pour établir la croisière sur le Cap Finistère où il devoit rencontrer 6 autres vaisseaux de ligne partis du Ferol: le Lieutenant général Berja, montoit le St Ferdinand qui achevoit de sortir de la carene.

On écrit de la Corogne, que les Royalistes de la Vendée se sont enfin rendus maîtres des bords de la mer, & qu'ils ont déjà reçu plusieurs secours d'Angleterre: ils ne demandent que des Officiers, de l'artillerie, des Ingénieurs, des munitions, & des vivres; du reste il le croient assez nombreux.

Le bruit court également que les Français se sont emparés d'un convoi Hollandais.

BAYA JA.

Le Nègre Jean-François étant entré dans la place avec 1500 hommes, demanda au Lieutenant Colonel du Régiment de Cantabre, Dn. Gaspar de Casasola, qui y commandoit dans l'absence du Gouverneur de St. Domingue 600 hommes environ, dont une partie étoit encore convalescente, que tous les blancs fussent embarqués pour France ou pour Philadelphie; celui-ci lui ayant répondu qu'il ne pouvoit rien décider sans les ordres de son général, Jean-François lui dit qu'il prendroit son parti, & sur le champ il fit massacrer tous les hommes blancs qui tombèrent entre ses mains & celles de ses gens; cette scène horrible se passa à midi, & le Commandant se retira avec sa troupe dans le château, abandonnant les équipages de la garnison qui ont été pillés, & les Nègres.

*Extrait de la Gazette de Madrid.
Bruxelles le 12 de Février.*

Le fameux Colonel Mack, est arrivé ici de Vienne; il assiste à tous les conseils de guerre qui ont rapport aux opérations Militaires : cet officier a vu la campagne antérieure par le passage du Rhin, & chassa les ennemis du Brabant; sa santé ne lui permit pas de continuer le service jusqu'à présent : il jouit de la plus grande réputation quant à tout ce qui concerne l'art Militaire : c'est un disciple du célèbre général Laudon, dont il fut Maréchal général des logis pendant la dernière guerre contre les Turcs : il compare la façon dont les Français font actuellement la guerre à celle des Turcs, avec la seule différence que les Français témoignent moins de valeur, mais ont plus de connoissances de la tactique, surtout quant au choix des positions antérieures & postérieures aux combats : il est d'avis qu'il faut toujours les prévenir & les attaquer les premiers; mais que si on ne peut éviter qu'ils engagent l'action, il faut les tenir en respect par des manœuvres savantes, les entourer si faire se peut, & surtout éviter de rester sur la défensive :

on rapporte de cet officier plusieurs actions qui prouvent ses connoissances & son intrépidité : pendant la dernière guerre contre les Turcs, le général Laudon balançoit pour attaquer la ville de Lissa sur ce qu'elle étoit éloignée de huit lieues de son camp; que le Danube se trouvoit entre deux; & qu'il comptoit 30000 Turcs dans la place : le Colonel Mack piqué de cette irrésolution, le quitta à 9 heures du soir, & revint le trouver le lendemain à 7 heures du matin en l'assurant qu'il n'y avoit dans Lissa que 6000 Turcs : Laudon lui ayant demandé comment il le savoit, fut fort étonné d'apprendre que pendant la nuit Mack ayant traversé le Danube avec un soldat, étoit entré dans la place, & avoit fait prisonnier dans les faubourgs un officier Turc, qu'il lui présenta :

L'article suivant inséré dans un feuillet périodique, appuie l'opinion du Colonel Mack : il y a à Paris une espèce de conseil de guerre composé de douze officiers habiles, expérimentés, & instruits dans toutes les parties de l'art Militaire, mais particulièrement dans celles du génie & de l'artillerie, tels que Mrs. Arçon & la Fitte; ils ont des plans en relief très exacts & très détaillés du théâtre de la guerre, sur lesquels ils combinent & décident toutes les opérations, dirigeant les ordres nécessaires, & ou tout est prévenu, aux généraux, qui ne sont que des espèces de subalternes obligés de s'y conformer aveuglément : chaque chef reçoit l'instruction de ce qu'il a à faire, & chaque corps l'explication de la manœuvre qu'il doit exécuter; les Commissaires de la Convention sont chargés de veiller à leur exécution, & la guilloie en répond : il n'est par conséquent pas étonnant que les armées des alliés se trouvent forcées quelque fois de plier devant une multitude de combattans qui s'avancent en bon ordre & qui se succèdent les uns aux autres sans s'embarrasser de leur perte, sur-tout lorsqu'elles les attendent sans

bouger ; mais si on parvient à les tromper par des manœuvres simulées, par de fausses attaques ; si on tombe sur eux de nuit ; enfin s'ils essuyent quelque échec, tout est perdu : les généraux & les Commissaires abandonnés à leurs propres connoissances, & qui n'ont pris aucun intérêt à un plan auquel si leur étoit défendu de faire le moindre changement, se trouvent pour lors sans ressources ; la terreur s'empare des esprits, la confusion s'en mêle & des troupes, qui ont été réunis à la hâte & ne sont pas amalgamés, prennent la fuite sans faire la moindre attention à ce qu'on leur dit pour les rallier : c'est ainsi qu'une seule victoire peut décider d'une campagne lorsque l'ennemi n'a aucune place forte à opposer à l'armée victorieuse ; car ni les généraux, ni les Républicains ne sauroient tirer avantage d'une retraite savante : les soldats Français se font aguerris pendant les deux dernières campagnes ; il n'est pas moins certain que la plus grande partie des troupes de ligne & des soldats de la première réquisition y ont péri, & qu'il reste à peine la cinquième partie des premières : la France est épuisée de chevaux : quant aux armes elles ne peuvent être de la même qualité que les anciennes, vu qu'elles sont faites à toute presse par des apprentis : le salpêtre, les vivres, & le pain manquent ; ainsi il est probable que la France se trouvera avant la fin de la campagne dans le cas d'une place de guerre, qui faute de provisions, est forcée de se rendre à discrétion.

Le 9 de Mars, un corps de troupe de la Convention de 1200 hommes entre cavalerie & infanterie, ayant entouré le palais Royal, conduisit 132 personnes en prison. -- A Bordeaux tous les Négocians riches ont été arrêtés en un seul jour, & conduits à la place Dauphine, eurs livres ont été examinés vis-à-vis de la guillotine : cette opé-

ration finie ils ont été taxés à une amende de cent million de livres répartie en proportion des fonds que chacun possédoit, & renfermés jusqu'à l'entière exhibition de la dite somme : l'un des dits négociants, nommé Bonaté, a été particulièrement condamné à une amende d'un million huit cent mille livres.

Réponse à la lettre soi disant habitent du

Bayou Sara.

Je croyais Monsieur, que moi & mes observations gémiroient sous la presse, lorsque votre main charitable m'a prêté son essor pour en sortir ; alors j'ai lu le *Moniteur* 20, ou j'ai trouvé qu'on avoit répondu à ma première observation sur un ton ironique, & que par un jeu de mots plutôt amusant qu'instructif, on m'a voit ridiculisé, on m'a mal interprété, ou on n'a pas su m'entendre. Je ne blâme ni ne méprise les instruments ci-devant employés pour les emputations, persuadé des peines qu'ils ont coûté à des grands hommes ; mais j'ai dit, & dis qu'il faut s'impliquer autant qu'il est possible, & les instruments & les remèdes ; savoir même substituer à propos des moyens équivalens à soulager son malade, tant dans les maladies internes qu'externes ; oui je dis que voilà le grand médecin & le chirurgien, sur-tout dans des pays éloignés des métropoles, & souvent les grands besoins peuvent manquer ; voilà ma thèse, former encore un point de réunion s'il étoit possible pour perfectionner ce nécessaire et si qui me paroît être encore au berceau

La suite à l'ordinaire prochain.

LOUISIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OFFICERS.

ALCÉE FORTIER.....	President.
GRACE KING.....	First Vice President.
GUSTAVE DEVRON, M. D.....	Second Vice President.
JNO. R. FICKLEN.....	Secretary.
J. H. RAPP.....	Assistant Secretary.
J. W. CRUZAT.....	Treasurer.

MEMBERS.

Baker, Page M.	Breaux, Gus A.
Baldwin, A., Jr.	Browne, R. H.
Baldwin, H. F.	Brittin, Mrs. A.
Baldwin, Mrs. H. F.	Bruenn, B.
Beer, Wm.	Brunswick, L. N.
Beyer, Prof. Geo. E.	Butler, P.
Blake, Mrs. F. P.	Bernard, H. A.
Chaffraix, Mrs. D. A.	Cruzat, J. W.
Chrétien, F. D.	Cusachs, C. V.
Claiborne, Mrs. C.	Cusachs, G.
Claiborne, Fd.	Cusachs, P. L., Jr.
Cottam, H. T.	
Davis, Thos. E.	Dixon, Prof. B. V. B.
Devron, Dr. G.	Doane, Mrs. J.
Deiler, Prof. J. H.	Dymond, John
Dillard, Prof. J. H.	

Farrar, E. H.
 Farrar, Girault
 Favrot, H. L.
 Favrot, L. M.
 Fenner, Judge C. E.
 Ferguson, Judge J. H.
 Ficklen, Prof. J. R.
 Florance, E. T.

Garland, H. L.
 Gill, C. G.
 Gillis, Mrs. M.
 Gordon, Mrs. F. L.

Heller, Rev. Max.
 Hill, Col. J. D.
 Howe, Judge W. W.

Johnston, Col. Wm. P.
 Johnston, Mrs. Wm. P.

Kendrick, C. W.
 King, Judge F. D.

Lanauze, Alb.
 Leduc, Mrs. A.
 Lewis, Dr. E. S.
 Limongi, F.
 Livaudais, A.

May, A. H.
 Mayo, H. M.
 Miller, Judge H. C.
 Minor, Miss Kate

Nicholls, Judge F.T.
 Owen, Thos. N.

Palmer, Rev. B. M.
 Parker, C. H.
 Parker, Dr. W. E.
 Pattison, C. E.

Forman, B. R.
 Forman, B. R., Jr.
 Formento, Dr. F.
 Fortier, Prof. A.
 Freret, F. G.
 Fallon, L. C.
 Fenner, Mrs. C. E.
 Furman, H. M.

Grima, Edgar
 Graham, Lewis S.
 Gordon, F. L.
 Gauthreaux, C. J.

Hawkes, Capt. J. G.
 Hughes, W. L.
 Herman, F. H.

Joubert, Léon

King, Miss Grace
 Kohn, Gustave

Lombard, E. H.
 Low, C. F.
 Lusher, Mrs. R. M.
 Lyons, I. L.
 Lyons, Mrs. I. L.

McCaleb, Thos.
 McConnell, J. M., Jr.
 McLaughlin, J. J.
 McEnery, Miss Sarah

Nixon, Mrs. J. C.

Peytavin, John L.
 Préot, Geo. C.
 Poole, M. E.
 Puig, Felix.

Quintero, L. C.

Rightor, Judge H. N.

Rightor, Henry

Roman, Mrs. S. Rhett

Roberts, Mrs. Percy

Semmes, T. J.

Sessums, Bishop Davis

Seymour, Judge W. H.

Smith, Prof. W. B.

Soniat, G. V.

Soniat, Dr. J. M.

Souchon, Dr. E.

Tullis, R. L.

Von Phul, Wm.

Villars, L. R.

Waddill, Frank

Walmsley, R. M.

Walmsley, Mrs. R. M.

Wharton, T. P.

Rosen, Chas.

Rapp, Prof. J. H.

Romain, Armand

Stamps, Mrs. M.

Story, Capt. B.

Story, Mrs. B.

Stuart, Miss C.

Spencer, W. B.

Shwartz, S. J.

Titche, Bernard

Villeré, St. Denis

Vickers, R. S.

Waldo, B. F. C.

Williams, Espy

Walmsley, Dr. R. W.

July 1944

July 1, 1944
 July 2, 1944
 July 3, 1944

July 4, 1944
 July 5, 1944
 July 6, 1944

July 7, 1944
 July 8, 1944
 July 9, 1944
 July 10, 1944
 July 11, 1944
 July 12, 1944

July 13, 1944
 July 14, 1944
 July 15, 1944
 July 16, 1944
 July 17, 1944
 July 18, 1944

July 19, 1944
 July 20, 1944
 July 21, 1944

July 22, 1944
 July 23, 1944
 July 24, 1944

July 25, 1944
 July 26, 1944
 July 27, 1944

July 28, 1944
 July 29, 1944
 July 30, 1944

